



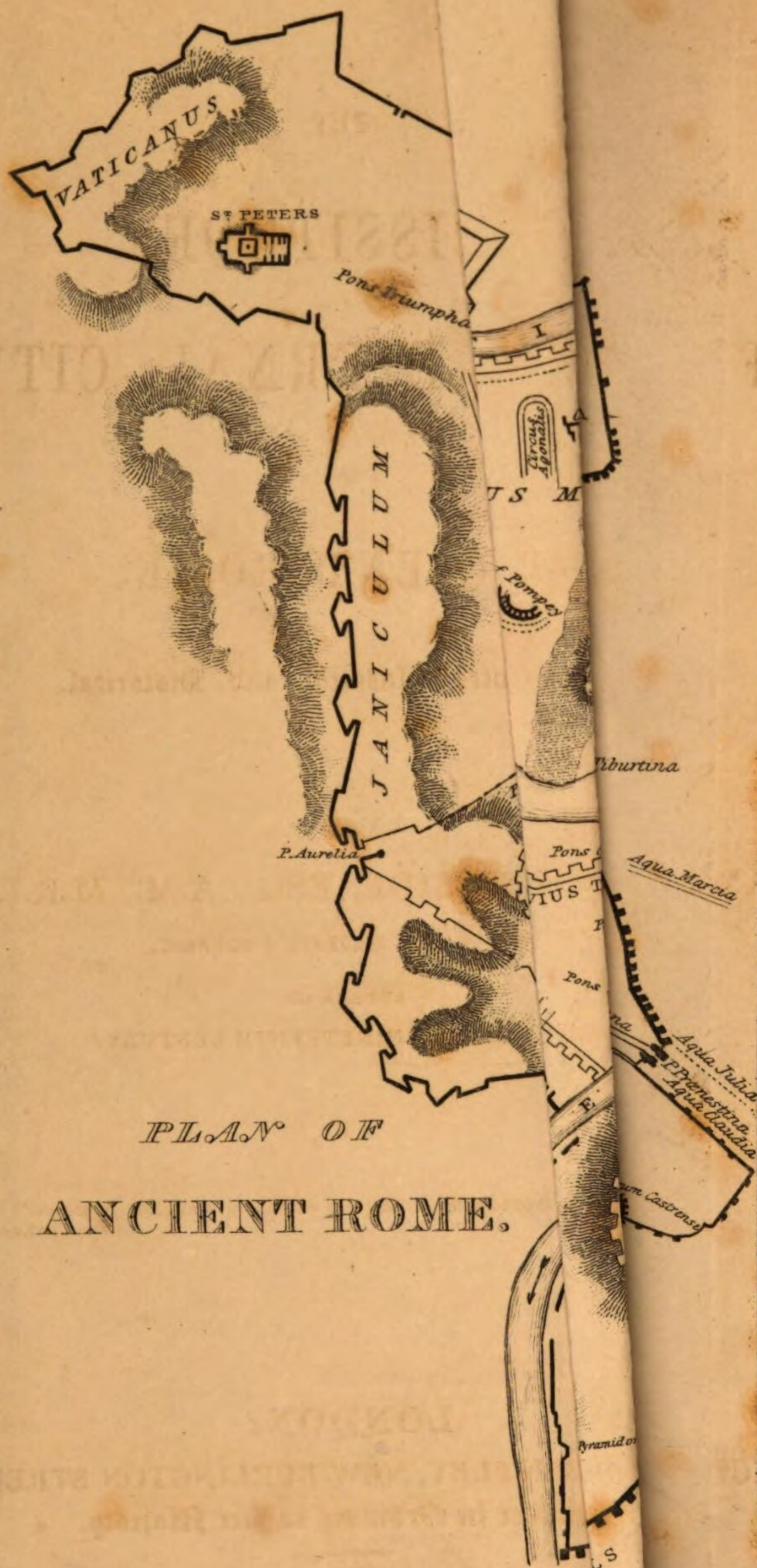
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PLAN OF
ANCIENT ROME.

THE
VICISSITUDES
OF THE ETERNAL CITY;

OR,
ANCIENT ROME:

With Notes Classical and Historical.

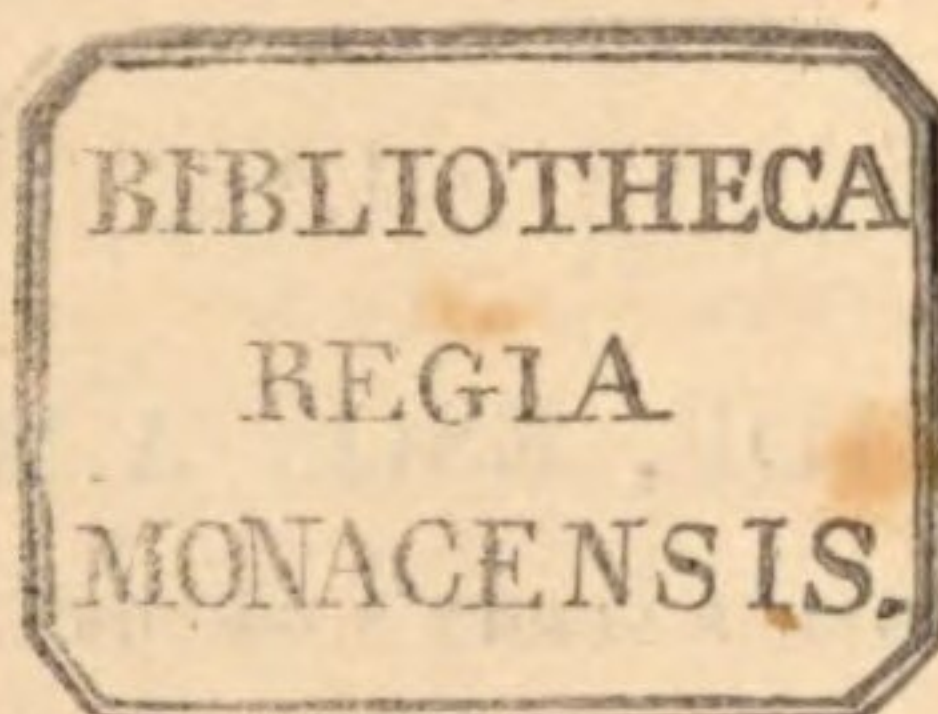
BY
JAMES WHITESIDE, ESQ., A.M., M.R.I.A.,
ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S COUNSEL.

AUTHOR OF
"ITALY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY."

"Quocunque ingredimur, in aliquam historiam vestigium ponimus."
CICERO.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

1849.



DEDICATION.

TO R. W.,
THIS VOLUME IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED,
IN REMEMBRANCE OF
TWO HAPPY WINTERS SPENT TOGETHER
IN THE
ETERNAL CITY.

June, 1849.

PREFACE

THE following is a list of the names of the persons

named in the following pages, and the names of the

persons named in the following pages, and the names of the

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P R E F A C E.

THE topography of Ancient Rome is here presented to the reader, translated from the work of IL CAVALIERE CANINA, the distinguished Italian architect and antiquary. Great labour and industry have been bestowed upon it by the learned author, who applied to this subject a mind long familiar with antiquarian researches. His descriptions are concise, and his opinions are in general sustained by sufficient authority.

Wherever the note appended to the text is by Canina, the letter C. is subjoined; where that writer is not responsible for the note, the letter W. is printed.

All the celebrated monuments raised in Rome down to the removal of the seat of empire by Constantine, of which any evidence can be procured,

are here placed in their proper positions, and in their appropriate Regions.

The reader will perceive the contents of each Region to be numbered ; this is done in order that they may correspond with Canina's topographical map described in the Introductory Observations, and for the convenience of those who may happen to visit Rome. For those who cannot enjoy that pleasure, the Map herewith given will suffice.

It is hoped that this book will prove a suitable companion to the volumes entitled "Italy in the Nineteenth Century," and a useful hand-book for travellers. As Canina treats only of the public buildings of the city, a chapter has been drawn up on the street architecture of Ancient Rome, and in reference to the domestic comforts of her citizens. In order to trace the progressive changes of Rome from the downfall of the Western Empire to the present day, a sketch has been added of the vicissitudes of the Eternal City. In describing the works of restoration effected during the French administration of Rome, that is, from 1809 to 1814, the valuable book of the Count de

Tournon, Prefect under the Emperor Napoleon, has been made use of. The inscriptions on the ancient monuments and medals referred to by Canina are carefully given ; while his classical references, frequently misprinted or mistaken in the Italian, have been, it is believed, accurately corrected.

DUBLIN,

June, 1849.

INDEX TO MAP.

REGION I.

Porta Capena.
Aqua Appia.
Via Appia.

REGION II.

Mons Cœlius.
The Lateran.
S. Stefano Rotondo.
Curia Hostilia.

REGION III.

Colosseum.
Baths of Titus.

REGION IV.

Via Sacra.

REGION V.

Montes Esquilæ.
Aqua Marcia.
Aqua Julia.
Via Lubicana.
Porta Prænestina.
Aqua Claudia.
Amphitheatrum Castrense.

REGION VI.

Baths of Constantine.
Baths of Diocletian.
Mons Quirinalis.
Temple of Quirinus.

REGION VII.

Temple of the Sun.

REGION VIII.

Mons Capitolinus.
Forum Augusti.
Forum Trajani.
Forum Romanum.
Comitium.
Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.
Temple of Jupiter Feretrius.
Tarpeian Rock.

Cloaca Maxima.
Forum Boarium.
Forum Nervæ.

REGION IX.

Circus Agonalis.
Pantheon.
Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus.
Campus Martius.
Theatre of Pompey.
Circus of Flaminius.
Theatre of Marcellus.
Via Flaminia.
Mausoleum of Augustus.
Asylum of Romulus.

REGION X.

House of Tiberius.
Temple of Apollo.
Mons Palatinus.
House of Augustus.
House of Nero.

REGION XI.

Circus Maximus.

REGION XII.

Baths of Caracalla.

REGION XIII.

Mons Aventinus.
Temple of Diana.
Pyramid of Caius Cestius.
Porta Ostiensis.
Monte Testaccio.

REGION XIV.

Mausoleum of Hadrian, now Fort
St. Angelo.
Circus of Hadrian.
Pons Cestius.
Circus of Nero.
Pons Fabricius.
Pons Elius.

CONTENTS.

Introductory Observations.—The Topography of Ancient Rome by Canina.	1
--	---

REGION I.

PORTA CAPENA.

1. Fountain and Temple of Mercury.—2. Temple of Honour and Virtue.—3. Fountain and Temple of the Muses.—4. Mutatorium of Cæsar.—5. Temple of Mars.—6. Sepulchre of the Scipios.—7. Temple of the Tempest.—8. Sepulchre of the Furian and Manilian families.—9. Sepulchre of the household of Augustus, near to the Porta Latina.—10. Common Sepulchre.—11. Arch of Drusus.—The River Almo.	25
--	----

REGION II.

CELIMONTANA.

1. Temple of Claudius.—2. Arch of Dolabella and Silanus.—3. Quarters of Foreign Soldiers.—4. Quarters of the Albani.—5. The Great Market.—6. House of Vitellius.—7. Campus Martius.—8. House of Marcus Aurelius.—9. House of Laterani.—10. Fifth Cohort of the Watch.—11. The little Celian and Chapel of Diana.—12. Public Baths.—13. House of Philip.—14. Campus Fontinalis.—Neronian Arches.	38
---	----

REGION III.

ISIS AND SERAPIS.

1. The Flavian Amphitheatre.—2. Baths of Titus.—3. Reservoirs of Water.—4. Baths of Trajan.—5. Esquiline Septizonium.—6. Public Fountain of Claudius.—7. School for Gymnastic Exercises.—8. Baths of Philip.—9. Quarters of the Misenati.—10. Portico of Livia.—11. Receptacle for Machinery used in the Public Games.	52
--	----

REGION IV.

TEMPLE OF PEACE, OR THE SACRED WAY.

PAGE

The Sacred Way described.—1. A Fountain called Meta Sudans.—2. The Colossal Statue of Nero.—3. The Temple of Venus and Rome.—4. Arch of Titus.—5. Public Market on a Hill.—6. Basilica of Constantine.—7. Portico, so called. 8. Temple of Rome.—9. Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.—10. Basilica of Paulus Emilius.—11. Forum of Passage.—12. Temple of Peace.—13. Temple of the Earth.—14.—Temple of the Sun and of the Moon (in book, but not in map).—House of Pompey and Vicus Sceleratus.—The Suburra.—Vicus Sandalarius. 65

REGION V.

THE ESQUILINE.

1. Temple of Jupiter Viminus.—Temple of Venus Erycina.—Pretorian Camp. Viminal Field (in the book, not in the margin of Canina's map).—2. Baths of Olympia.—Baths of Novatus and house of Pudens (in book, not in map).—3. Bath of Agrippina.—Palace of Servius Tullius (in book, not in map).—4. Temple of Sylvanus.—5. Temple of Juno Lucina.—6. Market.—7. Arch of Gallienus.—8. Camp of Misenati (in map, not in book).—9. Reservoirs of the Julian Fountain.—10. Sepulchre unknown.—11. Sepulchre of the Arunzi.—12. Temple of Minerva Medica.—13. Sessorium. Basilica Liciniana (in book, not in map).—14. Amphitheatre of the Camp.—15. Reservoirs of Water.—16. Claudian Aqueduct, and that called New Anio.—Tomb of Eurysaces (not in the map).—Temple of Ancient Hope (not in the map).—17. Aqueduct of the Marcian, Tepulan, and Julian Waters.—18. Aqueduct of the New Anio, and Appian Water.—Baths of Helena (in book, not in map).—Circus named Varianus (in book, not in map).—19. The Street Sandalarius (on the map of contents, Region V., but described in the last paragraph by Canina in Region IV.). . . 82

REGION VI.

ALTA SEMITA.

PAGE

Circus of Flora (in book, not in map). — 1. Temple of Flora. — 2. Temple of Quirinus. — 3. Temple of Public Fortune. — 4. Temple of Health. — 5. The Ancient Capitol. — 6. Baths of Constantine. — 7. Temple of Serapis. — 8. Temple of Apollo and Clathra. — 9. Baths of Paulus. — Baths of Diocletian (in book, not in map). — Temple of Fortune (in book, not in map). — Circus of Sallust (in book, not in map). — 10. Temple of the Sallustian Venus. — 11. Portico of one thousand feet. — 12. Sallustian Forum. — Gardens of Sallust (in book, not in map). — 13 and 14. Reservoirs of Diocletian. 108

REGION VII.

VIA LATA—BROAD WAY.

1. Gardens so called. — 2. Forum Archemorium. — 3. Temple of the Sun. — 4. Portico of Constantine. — 5. Forum Suarium or Market for sale of Swine. — 6. Quarters of the Genziani. — 7. Tomb of Bibulus. — 8. Tomb of the Claudian Family. Via Lata (in book, not in map). — 9. Arch of Gordianus. — 10. Arch of Claudius, so called. — 11. Arch of Verus and of Marcus. — 12. Schools of Domitian for Gymnastic Exercises. — 13. Public Baths. — 14. Temple of Isis. — 15. Field of Agrippa. Diribitorium (in book, not in map). 125

REGION VIII.

ROMAN FORUM.

1. Julian Curia. — 2. Comitium. — 3. The Græcostasis. — 4. Arch of Fabius. — 5. Temple of Castor and Pollux. — 6. Temple of Vesta. — 7. Julian Basilica. — 8. Temple of Cæsar. — 9. Temple of Saturn. — 10. Arch of Tiberias. — 11. Temple of Vespasian. — 12. Temple of Fortune. — 13. School of Zanta. — 14. Temple of Thundering Jove. — 15. Temple of

Concord.—16. Mamertine Prisons.—17. Arch of Septimius Severus.—18. Basilica Paulus Emilius.—19. Secretary's Office (of the Senate).—20. Column of Phocas.—21. Forum of Cæsar.—22. Forum of Augustus.—23. Forum of Trajan.—24. Ulpian Basilica.—25. Column of Trajan.—26. Temple of Trajan.—27. Basilica of Silversmiths.—28. Forum Boarium.—29. Arch of Septimius Severus.—30. Arch named Quadrifons.—31. Temple of the Goddess of the Morning.—32. Temple of Fortune.—33. Temple of Hercules.—34. Chapel of Modesty.—35. Temple of Carmenta.—36. Registry Office of Senate.—37. Temple of young Jupiter.—38. Citadel of the Capital.—39. Curia Calabra.—40. Temple of Juno Moneta.—41. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.—42. Temple of Preserving Jove.—The following, not named in map, are described in the book.—Julian Rostri—Rostri more ancient.—Portico of the Twelve consenting Gods.—The Capitol.—Equimelium.—Sewer.—Other buildings of the Forum of Trajan.—Ulpian Library.—Temple of Janus.	142
--	-----

REGION IX.

FLAMINIAN CIRCUS.

1. Theatre of Marcellus.—2. Portico of Octavia.—3. Temple of Hercules.—4. Ancient Temple of Apollo.—5. Temple of Bellona.—6. Granaries of Minutius.—7. Temple of Hercules Custos.—8. Portico of Philip.—9. Theatre of Balbus.—10. Theatre of Pompey.—11. Portico of a Hundred Columns.—12. Arch of Tiberius.—13. Curia of Pompey.—14. Corinthian Portico of Octavius.—15. Pantheon of Agrippa.—16. Baths of Agrippa.—17. Lake of Agrippa.—18. Baths of Nero.—19. Aqueduct of the water, called Virgine.—20. Temple of Juturna.—21. Basilica of Matidia.—22. Basilica of Marcian.—23. Portico of Pola.—24. A Palace, so named.—25. Temple of Isis.—26. Temple of Serapis.—27. Temple of Minerva.—28. Temple of Minerva Calcidica.—29. Portico and Temple of Neptune.—30. Portico of Meleager.—31. Temple of Antoninus and Column of Aurelius.—32. Column of Antoninus.—33. Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus.—34. Portico of Europa.—35. Arch, so

CONTENTS.

XV

	PAGE
called.—36. Solar Clock of Augustus.—37. The Mausoleum of Augustus.—38. Cæsarean Pile.—39. Sepulchre of Agrippa.	
40. Gardens of Domitian family.—41. Gardens of Lucullus.—Places described in the book, and not in the map.—	
Temple of Neptune.—Campus Martius.—Temple of Mars.	
Circus Agonalis.—The Septa.—The Equirium.—The Lesser Campus.—Domitian Sepulchre.	191

REGION X.

PALATIUM.

1. Temple of Jupiter Stator.—2. Temple of Ramnusia.—	
3. Principal Entrance to the Palace.—4. Greek and Latin Library.—5. Temples of Cybele, of Bacchus, and of Juno Sospita.—6. House of Augustus.—7. Temple of Apollo.—	
8. Temple of Conquering Jove.—9. Temple of Vesta Palatina.—10. Tiberian House.—11. Additional Building of Caligula.—12. Temple of Augustus.—13. Part of the Palace added by Nero.—14. Palatine Baths.—15. Palatine Area.—	
16. Gardens of Adonis.—17. Temple of Pallas.—18. Septizonium of Septimius Severus.—Arch of Constantine Auguratorium (in Book not on Map) Clivus Victoriæ.	234

REGION XI.

CIRCUS MAXIMUS.

1. Temple of Ceres and of Proserpine.—2. Temple of Ceres and of Hercules Pompeianus.—3. Temple of Mercury.—4. Temple of Portumnus.—5. Temple of Vesta.—6. Temple of Castor called of Fortune.—7. House of Rienzi.—8. Forum Olitorium, or Herb Market.—9. Temples of Piety, of Juno Matuta, and of Hope.—10. Arch of Lentulus.	252
---	-----

REGION XII.

PISCINA PUBLICA.

1. Seven Houses of the Parthians.—2. House of Chilo.	
3. Area Radicaria.—4. House of Cornificius.—5. Temple of Isis Athenodoria.—Baths of Caracalla (not in Map).	265

REGION XIII.

THE AVENTINE.

1. Temple of Diana Communis.—2. Temple of Minerva.—
 3. Baths of Sura.—4. The Decian Baths.—5. Temple of the
 Moon.—6. Temple of Juno Regina.—7. Temple and Atrium
 of Liberty.—8. The Fabarian Portico.—9. The Emilian
 Portico.—10. Granaries of Lollius.—11. Sepulchre of Caius
 Cestius.—Monte Testaccio (not in Map). 271

REGION XIV.

TRANSTIBERINA.

1. Temple of Esculapius.—2. Temple of Jupiter.—3. Tem-
 ple of Faunus.—4. Mausoleum of Hadrian.—5. Tomb of
 Scipio Africanus.—6. Area Septimiana.—7. Various Houses. 288

CHAPTER XV.

- Difference between Grecian and Roman Architecture.—
 Street Architecture of Rome.—Nero's projected Reforms.—
 Had the Houses Floors, Windows, or Chimneys?—How did
 the People live?—Juvenal's Account of their Domestic
 Comforts. 301

CHAPTER XVI.

- SKETCH OF THE VICISSITUDES OF THE CITY. . 309

ERRATA.

Page	7,	line	26,	for	Fontuna	read	Fontana.
„	<i>ib.</i>	„	30,	„	Nea	„	Fea.
„	16,	„	7,	„	<i>Quattre</i>	„	<i>Quattro.</i>
„	16,	„	29,	„	LABRICANA	„	LABICANA.
„	29,	„	4,	„	at	„	and.
„	30,	„	3,	„	Notitia	„	Notitiæ.
„	47,	„	29, <i>note,</i>	„	accipiet	„	accipiat.
„	50,	„	31, <i>note,</i>	„	appellatum	„	ad bella.
„	50,	„	34,	„	Thuscum	„	Tuscum.
„	52,	„	8,	„	Appius	„	Oppius.
„	90,	„	13,	„	Marcello	„	Macello.
„	93,	„	21,	„	Sculio	„	Serlio.
„	93,	„	26,	„	ancira	„	ancyrana.
„	94,	„	3,	„	wall	„	hall.
„	96,	„	4,	„	waters	„	aqueducts.
„	96,	„	4, <i>note,</i>	„	VERBEM	„	VRBEM.
„	96,	„	7, <i>note,</i>	„	RERDVCTAS	„	PERDVCTAS.
„	103,	„	7,	<i>dele</i>	waters		
„	107,	„	10,	<i>for</i>	Senecus	„	Severus.
„	142,	„	13,	„	Quadrifrons	„	Quadrifons.
„	<i>ib.</i>	„	22,	„	Esquimilium	„	Equimelium.
„	158,	„	13,	„	Transcription	„	Inscription.
„	<i>ib.</i>	„	<i>ib.</i>	„	inscribed	„	Transcribed.
„	178,	„	13,	„	Quadrifrons	„	Quadrifons.
„	183,	„	3, <i>note,</i>	„	Tupiter	„	Jupiter.
„	183,	„	5, <i>note,</i>	„	Anicrana	„	Ancyrana.
„	198,	„	14,	„	Cenei	„	Cenci.
„	202,	„	20,	„	Guippona	„	Guipponari.
„	218,	„	6,	„	Nardius	„	Nardini.
„	<i>ib.</i>	„	1, <i>note,</i>	„	inquit	„	linquit.
„	235,	„	1, <i>note,</i>	„	Palladis	„	Pallida.
„	238,	„	3, <i>note,</i>	„	Addita	„	Addidit.
„	242,	„	5, <i>note,</i>	„	quos	„	quas.
„	<i>ib.</i>	„	7, <i>note,</i>	„	ipso	„	ipse.
„	244,	„	8, <i>note,</i>	„	locutione	„	locatione.
„	273,	„	9,	„	Suetonius	„	Dionysius.
„	<i>ib.</i>	„	7, <i>note,</i>	„	Sacra	„	Sura.
„	277,	„	3,	„	Nardius	„	Nardini.
„	290,	„	12,	„	Ancyra	„	Ancyrana.
„	291,	„	2,	„	Janicular	„	Janiculum.
„	292,	„	7, <i>note,</i>	„	Sustinendus	„	Sustinendis.

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TOPOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT ROME.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT ROME BY CANINA.

DESIROUS of investigating the plan of Ancient Rome, in order to understand the divisions of the city, their separate boundaries, what buildings they contained, and where, exactly, the famous edifices stood—I examined the works of learned travellers and antiquarians, and the modern guide-books. Some contained partial notices of Ancient and Modern Rome, confusing the reader by the juxta position; others described chiefly palaces and pictures; others were diffuse on unimportant particulars. Burton and Nibby had not the advantage of recent discoveries, and are considered, in many particulars, mistaken and unsatisfactory. The plan of the city, by Nolli, was printed in 1784. The book of Nardini, published some fifteen years later, Gibbon pronounces to be imperfect, and, although learned, immethodical; sometimes obscure—invariably diffuse. That writer delighted in starting needless difficulties, which he did not always remove. Sir John Hobhouse observes:—

“A hundred years have not furnished the desired plan of the city. Whoever should attempt a general view of the subject, would have to brush away the cobwebs of erudition, with which even the modern discoveries are partially obscured.”

Hobhouse objects to the praise lavished on Venuti by Forsythe, and subsequently remarks :—

“ The insufficiency of all latter labours, and the necessity of some new guide, may be collected from the expedient at last adopted of republishing Nardini. What has been said of the embarrassment of a stranger at Rome, must appear more singular when it is recollected, that, besides the casual efforts of natives and foreigners, there is an archæological society constantly at work upon the antiquities of the city and neighbourhood.”

Under these circumstances, I looked about for the best guide-book to enable me to understand the topographical plan of Ancient Rome, which, unless clearly comprehended, renders sight-seeing a confusing occupation, and, so far as Imperial Rome is concerned, a mere waste of time ; and I happily found an universal agreement of opinion amongst Italians and English, French antiquaries and authors, including the best of our own writers on Roman topography (Sir William Gell), as to the extensive learning, indefatigable industry, and intimate acquaintance with his subject of the Cavaliere Canina.

He has had great advantages from modern discoveries, from the labours of the French, and from the researches of Niebuhr and Bunsen ; his whole lifetime has been devoted to antiquarian investigations, in which Canina acquired a deserved and general reputation. The title he enjoys, has been conferred upon him as a mark of distinction for his archæological knowledge.

The Cavaliere Canina prepared a very large map or plan of Old Rome, and compiled an excellent topographical book, describing accurately, yet not diffusely,

Ancient Rome. To this valuable guide is prefixed a preliminary essay, explanatory of the history of the foundation, growth, and ultimate grandeur of the city. I propose to explain the map and give a translation of the whole book, convinced that, by this humble labour, I render an essential service to the traveller and the scholar, and I would fain hope it may not be unwelcome to the general reader. Gibbon, in the last note to his history, observes :—

“Montfauçon still sighs for a more complete plan and description of the old city, which must be attained by the three following methods:—1. The measurement of the space and intervals of the ruins. 2. The study of inscriptions, and the places where they were found. 3. The investigation of all the acts, charters, and diaries of the middle ages which name any spot or building of Rome.”

It will appear Canina has not been inattentive to this proposed method; the ancient inscriptions he copies are very instructive, while his references to the classics are copious and felicitous. I shall be excused, I trust, for having expanded occasionally his classical references, added several new quotations, together with some historical explanatory notes, which may not be found unuseful to the matter of Canina's text, or in refreshing the recollection of the reader. I have followed up the work on Ancient Rome with a chapter on the differences between Grecian and Roman architecture, and in reference to the street architecture of Old Rome, and concluded the volume with a sketch of the vicissitudes of the Eternal City.

The work of Canina is confined to Rome, and does

not include the Campagna. Let me advise the traveller to procure the large sheet published in Rome, to be had in the Corso, a few doors from the Condotti, entitled “*Avanzi dei piu cospicui edifici antichi di Roma e sue adiacenzi*,” containing a representation of all the existing monuments and buildings of Ancient Rome and its vicinity. I reckon, including the ruins in the Campagna and near the city, ninety-six objects of classical interest. Examining the representation of the object he intends to visit on this sheet, the present condition of the building or ruin is seen; referring if necessary to Canina’s map, its exact position in ancient Rome is fixed; and reading the description here translated for his use, the traveller thereby will combine with the pleasure of his pursuit useful or exact information, and, moreover, retain clear ideas of Ancient Rome for the remainder of his life. For the assistance of the general reader, and those travellers who may not feel disposed to obtain Canina’s topographical plan, a clear, and, for general purposes, a sufficiently explicit map of Ancient Rome, shewing the difference between the walls of Servius Tullius and the more extensive walls of Honorius and Aurelian, together with the site of the principal places and many of the most remarkable edifices of Ancient Rome, has been prepared and printed for this book. It will be found useful in reading the preliminary essay to make occasional reference to this map.*

* A neat map of Ancient Rome has been also published, in a cheap form, by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. It does not entirely agree with that by Canina.

I now proceed to bring Ancient Rome fully under the notice of the reader, by help of the book described, of which a fourth Italian edition has recently been published.

The work is entitled "*Indicazione Topografica di Roma Antica. Distribuita nelle xiv. Regioni. Del Architetto Cav. Luigi Canina.*" It contains a brief preface, a preliminary discourse, and a topographical description of Ancient Rome, divided into fourteen regions or districts, each numbered. The last edition of the original work is improved by notices of the late excavations, and increased by very important documents which have been fortunately preserved. The book indicates the situation and epoch of the erection of those principal public edifices which were raised on the soil of Ancient Rome from its first existence, down to the removal of the seat of the Roman Empire to the East. The most probable disposition of the city itself, and of its progressive additions, are referred to. A grand topographical map of Ancient Rome elucidates the descriptions of the book. There will be found marked on it the situation of the chief buildings of the city, and of the different fortifications constructed around it, and the form likewise of the hills. Moreover, there is traced in *tinta chiara* the disposition of the principal modern buildings contained within the last enclosure of the city.

The map next exhibits outside the tracing of the walls, fac-similes of the best preserved of the fragments of the famous ancient plan, which is proved to have

been carved in marble, at the epoch in which Septimius Severus ruled the Empire.

The author modestly alludes to his antiquarian researches, continued for years on the spot, to determine the exact position and form of the remains of the temples, monuments, and buildings described, and their most probable structure when perfect.

No description is attempted of the secondary streets and passages of the ancient city; the inquiry into their true position would be futile.

The descriptions, and also the map, are distributed according to the fourteen regions into which the city was divided in the early period of the Empire, and according to the well known catalogues of the writers called *Regionaries*, who described and numbered the divisions of Rome; and the temples, monuments, and buildings are transcribed at the head of every region, according as they stand within that district.

Thus the author gives a succinct idea of the topography of the ancient city, which if not true, is at least most conformable to all the notices which the writings of the ancients, the inscriptions, the observations of modern authors, and the remaining ruins of the fabrics present.

Before we proceed, I should describe this large topographical map, which deserves no common praise; it is three feet and a half long, and five broad; the outer margin contains the fourteen regions, their respective titles, and the contents of each.

Thus, looking at region No. 1, you read the table of contents in the margin, and if you wish to find the

sepulchre of Scipio, you perceive it is numbered 6 in that region ; you then refer to that number in the body of the map, in the region numbered 1, in large characters, and you have its exact position.

If, in addition to the local position of the sepulchre of a race of heroes, you wish to read the description of the same, you refer to the book, region 1, title “ Sepolcro delle Scipioni,” the same as given in the margin of the map, and you have the written narrative.

There are no numbers given to the contents of each region in the book, because the map is not attached to the work, nor meant to be always sold therewith ; either may be had separately, and as the book is expensive, and not translated, my object is to enable the traveller to take the map only if he requires it, and to dispense with the book ; and also I shall rejoice, if I can present to the eye of the English reader, comfortably seated by his happy fireside, a picture of what the mighty city of Rome was, when she ruled the world.

In his preliminary discourse, the author mentions the materials which have directed his researches—the classical writings—the fragments of the ancient Capitoline plan—then those designs published by San Gallo, which are in the Barberini library ; and those of Ligorio and of Fulvio, that are in the library of the Vatican ; and the well-known designs of Palladio, Fontana, Desgodatz, Piranesi, and other distinguished antiquaries who have illustrated the ancient monuments ; and lastly, the works of Biondio, Fulvio, Marliano, Donati, Nardini, Fabretti, Venuti, Guattani, Piale, Uggeri, Hea, Visconti, Nibby, Melchiorri, Burges, Bunsen, and other

renowned authors who have described the topography of Ancient Rome,—a formidable list of authorities undoubtedly, and requiring no common industry and skill to examine, compare, and systematize.

The fragments of the ancient plan in the Capitol, those famous remains of the old plan of the city, carved in marble, which now exist in the walls of the staircase of the Capitoline museum—make it necessary to add some notices concerning their discovery, and the state in which they remain.

In the first place is to be observed, that from an inscription we see cut in one of these same fragments, referring to the path of *Victory* ascending towards the Palatine, we conclude it to have been a plan made under the Emperor Septimius Severus, and Antoninus his son. We know also from many other fragments, that in this plan of Ancient Rome were marked not only the forms of public edifices, but even of some private buildings: and therefore recognizing in this a precious monument, it would have been the greatest help we could have desired, in determining in all parts the topography of Ancient Rome, if in its integrity the draught had come down to us, but instead, broken up in the period when other remarkable monuments were ruined, there have remained to us only a few fragments, disjointed and much injured, which were found in the fifteenth century behind the church of the Saints Cosimo and Damian; and these, after their discovery, were even still more damaged by neglect. The circular temple making part of this church, is believed to have been dedicated to Romulus and Remus, whence it is con-

cluded that this plan was carved to serve as the pavement of the temple ; which, however, no writing in existence proves.

“ Nevertheless,” writes Canina, “ I think the supposition not improbable, that the plan might have been destined to this use, on occasion of the restoration of the temple under the Emperor Septimius Severus, as an object well suited to the founder of the city, to whom the temple was in part consecrated.

“ Such a place being afterwards respected as sacred, was not liable to have its pavement much trampled. Moreover, if we consider that the ancients formed their pavements with mosaics and other precious materials, the belief will not be extravagant that such a work, sculptured with deep incisions in marble, may have been placed in such a temple ; and the probability is greater, if it be recollected, that had the same plan been attached to a partition wall, it would not have been with advantage, in reference to its size, so as to enable the observer to distinguish all the particular sketches carved in each table of which it was composed.

“ Nor is the supposition reasonable, that the same plan might have been distributed in so many tables separate from each other, because thus it would not have presented a complete idea of the general form of the city, to which use it was designed.”

The history of these fragments is then given from the time of their discovery to their ultimate removal to the Capitol, where they are now preserved.

In the author’s description of the plan of Rome, are distinguished all those fragments which can be recognized by any remains as having belonged to a known edifice.*

* I adopt, with slight abbreviations, the words of Canina henceforward.—[W.]

THE EARLY ENCLOSURES OF ROME.—The original city which Romulus founded, or others before him, according to many opinions, was built on the Palatine Mount only; and Romulus determined its limits by a furrow which he ploughed round the hill, following the Etruscan rites. This furrow was commenced, according to the description of Tacitus, from the Forum Boarium, where there was placed a bull of bronze, in memorial of this animal having been at that time subjected to the plough, and there was enclosed in the interior of the circumference the grand altar of Hercules.

Thence Romulus placing stones at certain distances on the side of the Palatine Hill, approached to the altar of Consus,* which stood near to the great circus, and then passed by the old Curia to the temple of the household gods, and to the Forum Romanum. In this manner was enclosed the square Rome (ROMA QUADRATA), so called by the ancients, from the figure presented by the space around the hill, and from this operation originated the Pomerium,† by which the limits of towns were determined in subsequent times.

* *Consus*—a God, said to be Neptune, (or Neptunus Equester, Auson. Epig. 68, and Tertull. de Spec. 5,) also Deus Consilii or Consiliorum Secretorum. Cf. Liv., i. 9, where we read, “Ludos parat Neptuno Equestri solennes; Consualia vocant.” An altar was dedicated to this god under the earth in the Circus Maximus, which was not opened unless during the Circensian games, that it might be shewn that counsels should be concealed.—[W.]

† *Pomærium*.—The wall being built upon this line, traced by the plough, they called it *Pomærium*, from *pone mænia*. Some derive the word from *post murum*, or *pone muros*, or *quasi promurum*, i. e. *proximum muro*; it is commonly understood to have been a certain space about the walls of a city or town, as well within as without; in which it was not lawful to plough, dwell,

In the fortification of this circle with walls and towers in order to give Rome security from the arms of the Sabines, as Dionysius has written, three gates are principally noticed by Pliny to have been made, the names of two only are accurately known: one called *Mugonia*, and the other *Romana*, or *Romanula*. The first was placed where Romulus began the furrow to describe the circle around his city, and the second in the centre of the eastern side of the hill.

By the agreement made after the Sabine war between Romulus and Titus Tatius, to Rome squared and to the Tarpeian Hill (which was united to the city), was added part of the other two hills—one called the Quirinal, the other the Celian. This last hill Romulus held with the Palatine; and the Quirinal with the Tarpeian were assigned to Titus Tatius. Numa Pompilius amplified the circuit of the walls by enclosing that part of the Quirinal which had been occupied by Tatius and those who with him were united to the Roman people.

The Celian Hill, inhabited from the time of Romulus, was surrounded with walls by Tullus Hostilius, successor of Numa, when, after having destroyed Alba, he conducted the Albans to inhabit his own city; and, in order that this hill might be more quickly inhabited, Tullus erected there his palace, and made it his residence.

Dionysius and Livy narrate that under the reign of Ancus Martius, the Aventine was united to the city, and being encompassed by walls and ditches, was in- or build. It was also supposed no person had a right to extend the *Pomærium*, but such an individual as had enlarged the limits of the Empire—"Et pomærium urbis auxit Cæsar more prisco." Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 23.—[W.]

habited by the people transported from Tellenæ, Politorium,* and other cities then subdued. Under the same Ancus Martius, they girt with walls that part of the Janiculum which looks towards the Aventine, thereby to establish a fortification of defence for those who navigated the river against the attacks of the Etruscans, and this was united to the city by means of the Sublician Bridge. All these enclosures being evidently built with little solidity, and in a coarse manner, as stated by Dionysius, Tarquinius Priscus was led to undertake their reconstruction with large stones cut in a regular form; but the execution of this work was suspended, first, by a war he had with the Sabines, and, secondly, by his death. This was the last enlargement of the city, and thus by adding to the five hills the Palatine, Capitoline, Aventine, Celian, and Quirinal, —the two others, namely, the Viminal, and Esquiline, the city itself was composed of these seven hills, not including, however, in that number the part of the Janiculum enclosed by Ancus Martius, which in the early ages of Rome was considered but as a simple fortress.

In order to trace the position of several ancient edifices, it is essential to understand the circle encompassed by the walls built by Servius, because the city properly so called was not girt by any other walls down to the time of the decline of the Empire under Aurelian.

Dionysius, describing the defence made by the Romans against the incursions of the Equi and the Volsci, observed, that this circuit of walls was partly situated on the brow of the hills and steep rocks, very strong by nature, and wanting little defence; and the other

* LIVY, i. 33.

part of the city, placed along the Tiber, was secured by the river itself. The spot most easy of attack was that occupying the space lying between the Esquiline gate and the Collina; this was strengthened by art. A fosse was excavated at least 100 feet broad and 30 feet deep; and on the bank of this fosse, according to Dionysius, was erected a wall, supported by a high large platform, so that it could neither be shaken by the battering-ram nor be destroyed by mining under the foundations; this spot was about seven stadii * in length.

The same writer, speaking of the extension of the wall that enclosed the city in his time, observed, it would be found that the circuit of Rome did not much exceed that of the celebrated city of Athens. Thus, knowing from Thucydides that the circuit of Athens (not comprising the extent of the long walls of the Piræus, which properly did not form part of the circuit of the city, and which at the time of Dionysius were in great part destroyed) was sixty stadii, comprising, however, the space that was between the walls of the Piræus and that of Phalerius, the circuit of Rome is determined as little exceeding that of Athens, being sixty-five stadii, or between eight and nine miles. The wall of Servius Tullius, from its extremity at the Tiber under the Tarpeian, began between the Palatine bridge and the theatre of Marcellus, which we know stood, without the city, in the Campus Martius; and the bridge mentioned was placed within the limit of the city towards the Roman Forum. In this first portion of the wall, which reached from the river to the bottom of the hill, there were, according to the best opinions, three distinct

* The *stadio* is one eighth of a mile.

gates. The first, situated in a passage which ran behind the stage of the theatre of Marcellus (*the situation of which may be seen on Canina's map, No. 1, region ix*), is proved by some passages in Livy, wherein many inundations are described, to have been called Flumentana.*

The second, which probably stood on the space situated in front of the theatre of Marcellus and the portico of Octavia, is believed to have been denominated Triumphale, from the ingress to the city through it made by those who triumphed.

The third gate, situated at the foot of the Tarpeian, was designated Carmentale, from the temple or altar of Carmenta, mother of Evander, which stood near.

These three ancient gates are marked on the map of Canina; and the disparity between the walls of Tullius and those of Aurelius will there be seen at a glance.

* *Porta Flumentana*.—"Ita prodicta die, in Poetelinum lucum extra portam Flumentanam, unde conspectus in Capitolium non esset, concilium populi indictum est." LIVY, vi. 20. Others, however, read in this passage *Nomentanam*, and for this reason, that the Porta Flumentana, by which they went into the Campus Martius, was very near to the Capitol, which could consequently be seen from thence by Manlius, and the people. Nardini, in his work on "Ancient Rome," thinks that we should here rather read *extra portam Nomentanam*, as most remote from the Capitol, and leading into a place from whence its view was entirely taken away by the mound of Servius Tullius, &c. The other places in Livy in which the Porta Flumentana is directly mentioned are xxxv. 9. "Aquæ ingentes eo anno fuerunt et Tiberis loca plana urbis inundavit. Circa portam Flumentanam etiam conlapsa quædam ruinis sunt." And xxxv. 21. "Tiberis, infestiore quam priore impetu inlatus urbi, duo pontes, ædificia multa, maxime circa portam Flumentanam, evertit." Which passages also fully illustrate my experience of the destructive inundations of the Italian rivers at the present day.—[W.]

The wall of Servius then ascended the northern back of the Tarpeian, and, jointly with the rock, which we know to have been on this side very rugged, formed the circle within which the citadel was raised on this hill.

Reaching thence to the other elevation of the Capitoline, on which stood the great Temple of Jupiter, the wall plainly descended near to the spot where stands the sepulchre of Bibulus, which, the custom that the Romans had of not burying within the city, proves to have been outside the walls. This sepulchre, with others adjacent, indicates the contiguity of a public road, and consequently a gate corresponding thereunto in the walls—namely, the Ratumena, which the old writers place near to the Capitol.

In the valley between the Capitoline and Quirinal, before Trajan, to make his forum cut away the elevation, the wall of Servius, following clearly the direction of most elevation, ascended the back of the Quirinal, thence pursuing the form of the hill, passed along the higher part of the gardens of the Colonna, where the remains of the vast Temple of the Sun point out the site.

From the eastern extremity of this place, passing by the circus of Flora, situate under the Barberini Palace, the wall reached the position now occupied by the celebrated gardens of Sallust, above the circus placed in them. Here remains of a wall, constructed of square stones, were discovered, which are believed to have belonged to the wall of Servius. In the circuit described amongst the different gates of the city communicating with the Campus Martius, are specially to be distinguished the *Sanguale*, and the *Salutare*: the

first deriving its name from the Temple of Blood which stood near, is referred to the top of the actual ascent of Monte Cavallo ;* and the second, distinguished by its name, in consequence of its vicinity to the Temple of Health, was situated at the head of the other ascent of the Quirinal, towards the place now called *Le Quattro Fontane*.

Near the upper extremity of the circus of Sallust, where the Quirinal is undistinguished by any further elevation, was made the celebrated trench of Servius. By common consent the gate Collina is here placed in a line with an ancient way, which passing along the northern side of the baths of Diocletian, stretched towards the Porta Nomentana (now Porta Pia) in the enclosure of Aurelian, and branched towards the Porta Salara in the same circuit. The famous trench, Strabo and others shew to have been begun at the Porta Collina, and to have ended at the Esquiline, and to have been six or seven stadii long. In the centre of this work was placed the gate called, from the hill of that name, the Viminal.

There is uncertainty in the situation of the wall of Servius from the Esquiline gate to the Celian ; but considering that it is doubtful whether that part of the Celian, on which stands the Lateran basilica, was excluded, and that two summits of the Esquiline, *Oppio* and *Cispio*, were included by Servius, it is believed the wall, following the declivity of the same elevation under the *sette sale*, joined the way now denominated LABRICANA, in the narrow part of the valley, lying between the Esquiline and the Celian.

* Where the Pope's summer palace is built.

In this valley stood the Porta Querquentulana, so called from an oak wood which stood near the walls.

Servius then conducted his wall towards the Porta di San Giovanni, thence following the brow of the Celian, below the Stefano Rotondo, and the Villa Mattei, and so reached the narrow space of the valley separating the Celian from the Aventine, where stood the Porta Capena. There was also in the line marked by the arches of Nero the Porta Celimontana.

From the Porta Capena the wall ascended the Aventine, evidently under the Church of S. Balbina, where that hill approaches the Celian, and continuing to follow the sinuosities of the Aventine, properly so called, terminated at the Tiber, near to the Sublician Bridge, where anciently stood the Porta Trigemina.

This circle described agrees with the measurement of sixty stadii. These walls prescribed the limits of the city properly so called, although covered in a great degree by buildings erected round about them, down to the period that the Romans by their greatness and power lost all fear of foreign invasion.

Dionysius, alluding to the vastness of Rome in the time of Augustus, writes:—

“If any man, beholding the buildings which had sprung up, wished to calculate the size of the city, he would have certainly erred, since he could not have found any mark to distinguish how far the town spread, and where it ended, insomuch that the suburbs united to Rome, gave to the spectator the idea of a city protracted *ad infinitum*.”

(A picture of what London is at the present day.)

With respect to the walls built by the Emperor Aurelian in the decline of the empire, I may be brief; it appears that emperor, perceiving by the prodigious increase of the city, that the old walls of Servius were useless as a defence, and that it was necessary to protect the inhabitants from hostile invasion, determined to construct a new wall in a circuit large enough to comprehend the greater part of the town which was then inhabited.

The traveller may refer to the map already described, and to the map in this book, trace the walls of the emperor, and then ride round them with advantage. This enclosure, repaired however in various times, is that which surrounds modern Rome this side the Tiber.

These walls, so built, may, in extent, be limited to ten miles, or 50,000 feet, excluding the works introduced to serve as part thereof. They were constructed partly of brick, while the walls of Tullius were of square stone.

Many ancient monuments and fabrics were used to make, as they stood, part of these new walls, such as one side of the Pretorian Barrack; arches of the Claudian Aqueduct, and of the Marcian, the amphitheatre called Castrense, intended for exercising the soldiers; the Sepulchre of Caius Cestius, and many others, which being perfectly visible to the eye at the present day give to these venerable walls a most singular appearance and a peculiar interest.

Our author remarks, he could not better, in his judgment, conclude his preliminary notices on the topography of the ancient city than by transcribing that which

Strabo wrote when he visited Rome in those prosperous times which she enjoyed during the early years of the Imperial government. Strabo observes :—

“Rome, built on the banks of the Tiber, is the first city you meet as you advance inland from Ostia.* Its situation was not from choice, however, but from necessity ; and those who increased the buildings had not the liberty of selecting a better site, but were constrained to adapt their improvements to the ground. Wherefore the early Romans having built on the Capitoline, Palatine, and Quirinal, left the approach to the Capitoline so easy, that when Titus Tatius advanced to revenge the rape of the Sabines, he took it at the first assault ; and Ancus Martius having found the Celian and Aventine, with the even ground lying between, divided not only from each other, but from all the buildings originally raised on them respectively, united and secured them with walls ; afterwards he conceived that it might not be prudent to leave outside the enclosure these hills thus fortified, yet had not power to continue the wall to the Quirinal.

“Servius supplied this defect, and completing the wall, added the Esquiline and the Viminal ; however, an enemy having still an easy access, he excavated a deep fosse, and raised a bank *six stadii* in length, building on its summit inside the ditch a wall with towers, which included the space lying between the Porta Collina and the Porta Esquilina : in the centre of the bank there was a third gate called the Viminal, of the same name as the hill on which it stood. In this manner were disposed the fortifications round the city, which was without any other defence.

“It seems to me (Strabo), the early Romans resolved, as well for themselves as their posterity, that they should secure safety and abundance, not so much by their fortifications, as by their arms and their valour, and they conceived that the walls ought not to defend the men, but the men the walls.

* The translation is from the Italian of Canina.—[W.]

“ There being, however, a large and fertile region round Rome, at first occupied by strangers ; and the territory of the Romans being open to attack, they could little hope to obtain prosperity by means of their position merely ; but having by their courage and exertions mastered the surrounding country, they very soon perceived many advantages arise which surpassed all those of situation. Thus, the city grown to so great a size, was still supplied amply with provisions, with wood, with stone for building ; dwellings fell, were burned, or remodelled—such remodelling being a voluntary transformation, as much so as when edifices are pulled down to be reconstructed, or to be changed in their form from one fashion into another, according to the taste of the architect. For these improvements an extraordinary abundance of metals and of timber was provided, and there were many rivers by which to convey these materials.

“ The first river is the Anio, which, descending from Alba, a Latin city, near the country of the Marsi, runs through the plains till it joins the Tiber ; then the Naro and the Tanais, which passing through Umbria, pour into the Tiber ; and the Cleanis, which flows through Tuscany and the country of Clusium.

“ In our days Cæsar Augustus has used great diligence to remedy the evils of the city ; he established bands of freedmen to give succour to the citizens in conflagrations ; and in order to lessen the number of accidents, reduced any great elevations upon the roofs of new edifices, and interdicted likewise the raising of any edifices along the public streets to a greater height than sixty feet.

“ These wise arrangements would have availed little, if the city had not been plentifully supplied with metals, timber, and facilities for their carriage. Such advantages Rome derived from the excellence of the country, to which the Romans added whatever by industry and art they could obtain. The Greeks were reputed skilful in beautiful architecture, the Romans, on the other hand, studied

things by the Greeks little regarded, such as the paving of streets and of the roads, construction of aqueducts and sewers to discharge the filth of the city into the Tiber. They also made smooth the roads through their territory, cutting away hills, filling up valleys so that waggons might pass with ease carrying the merchandise of their shipping, and they arched their cloaca with stone, so that a cart-load of hay could pass through it. And such was the abundance of water conducted by the aqueducts, that rivers seemed to scour the city and the sewers, and few were the private houses which had not a supply from pipes, reservoirs, or abundant fountains; to which matters Marcus Agrippa applied the utmost diligence, having with much labour and taste adorned the city and rendered it more beautiful and splendid; for true it is, the old Romans were so intent on things of greater consequence, that they cared little for decorating their capital. But their successors, and those principally of this our day, not only have not been negligent in such matters, but have filled the city with many most majestic ornaments. Since Pompey, the deified Cæsar, Augustus, his children, friends, wife, and sister, employed their undivided care and the money at their disposal on these public works. Of this the Campus Martius is a proof, as this spot, in addition to the pleasantness which the soil naturally affords, is crowded with artificial splendours; because its admirable size affords ample space to the immense multitude which flock there to exercise in the sports of the course, of the race, of riding, of the ball, of the circus, and in wrestling. The buildings which surround it, the verdure which perpetually covers it, and the hills which crown it in the part opposite the river, present a spectacle from which the stranger can with difficulty tear himself away.

“ Nigh to this Campus Martius is another beautiful field, surrounded by porticoes, sacred woods, three theatres, an amphitheatre, and sumptuous temples, the one so joined to the other, that it might be supposed an addition to

the city itself. Therefore, considering such a place sacred, they raised there the sepulchres of illustrious men and women, amongst which the most celebrated is that called Mausoleum, built on a lofty base of white stone nigh the bank of the river, and wholly shaded to its summit by trees ever green. Above is the statue of Cæsar Augustus, made of bronze, and underneath are the sepulchres of himself, his relatives, and servants ; in the lower part there is an extensive grove, through which are walks astonishingly beautiful. There stands in the midst of the Campus a space enclosed in which Augustus was burned after his death, and this also is of white stone surrounded by a railing of iron, with many poplar trees within. If the stranger, then, entering within the ancient forum, wishes to consider the harmony of one building with the other, the porticoes with the temples, and to contemplate the Capitol with the edifices raised thereon, as also those situate on the Palatine and in the portico of Livia, he might well forget all things without."

Such was Rome, shortly after the death of Augustus, when visited by Strabo ; in subsequent periods it became adorned with buildings more vast and magnificent still, which rendered it superior to every other city subject to the Roman dominion, in the world.

From what has been said, observes Canina, we may conclude that Rome was originally built on the Palatine Hill, and thence extended to the Capitoline, Quirinal, Celan, Aventine, Esquiline, and Viminal, occupying also a large tract of the level ground lying along the Tiber, towards the north, in which was the celebrated Campus Martius. The city, by the increase of its population, from the four divisions of Servius, in the reign of Augustus, reached to fourteen divisions. These regions were by the same emperor divided into streets, the respective positions of

which it is impossible now to discover. The regions as well as the streets had inspectors appointed to preserve good order, called *curatori*, *denunciatori*, and *vicimagistri*, as specified in the catalogues of the Regionaries.

The number of fourteen regions was preserved down to the last days of the empire, after the city had been surrounded by a new wall. These were severally named either from their localities, or from some edifice which they contained: — 1st. Porta Capena; 2nd. Celimontana; 3rd. Isis and Serapis; 4th. Temple of Peace; 5th. Esquiline; 6th. Alta Semita; 7th. Via Lata; 8th. Forum Romanum; 9th. Circus Flaminius; 10th. Palatium; 11th. Circus Maximus; 12th. Piscina Publica; 13th. The Aventine; 14th. Transtiberinus.

Now beginning from the first, situated in the southern part of the city, we shall note the things in it most worthy of attention, according to the Catalogue of the Regionaries. In the same manner the other regions will be successively explored, warning the reader that in this topographical exposition will be demonstrated only the position of those buildings of which undoubted relics remain, or the want of which is supplied by certain descriptions.

Thus the preliminary discourse of Canina ends. I would add, that, in considering the improvement of the city under Augustus, we must not forget the changes effected in the time of Nero.

Niebuhr writes:—

“ Tacitus does not consider it a well attested fact that Nero set fire to the City of Rome, and it may, indeed, have

been no more than a report ; the fact of his looking at the calamity, and singing at the same time, merely shews his madness, but does not prove that he was the author of the fire. This conflagration, which raged for six days and seven nights, is an important event in the history of Rome, for after this catastrophe, the city assumed an aspect totally different from what it had worn before, and the new streets which were now built, were made straight, and took different directions from the old ones. The greater part of the city was reduced to a heap of ashes, or at least very much damaged. The magnificent ancient monuments, works of art, and libraries perished in the flames. After the fire was over, Nero, with his usual unbounded extravagance, began restoring the city ; he built his golden palace, and in the midst of the city, on the site now occupied by the Colosseum, he had a large lake dug out for the purpose of exhibiting *naumachiae*."

Thus Rome began, grew, and reached the utmost splendour and magnificence. Let us now examine, somewhat in detail, and see what each region presents worthy of observation. The traveller and the scholar may be equally interested in the accounts given of places famed in classic story.

REGION I.

PORTA CAPENA.*

1. Fountain and Temple of Mercury.—2. Temple of Honour and Virtue.—3. Fountain and Temple of the Muses.—4. Mutatorium of Cæsar.—5. Temple of Mars.—6. Sepulchre of the Scipios.—7. Temple of the Tempest.—8. Sepulchre of the Furian and Manilian families.—9. Sepulchre of the household of Augustus, near to the Porta Latina.—10. Common Sepulchre.—11. Arch of Drusus.—The River Almo.

THE limits of this first region, called Porta Capena from the gate of this name situated within the walls of Servius, are very uncertain. In some topographies they are prolonged to the spot called the Caffarella, at the distance of about two miles from the present gate of the city, in order to include some buildings in that vicinity. But the perimeter of this region being calculated by Rufus at 13,223 feet, by Victor and the “Notitia of the Empire” at only 12,220, it may be inferred—from the site of the ancient Capena gate, which by common

* “Porta Capena,” called so from Capena, an old city of Italy, to which the way led through this gate. It is sometimes called *Appia*, from Appius the censor, and *Fontinalis*, from the aqueducts which were raised over it; whence Juvenal calls it *madida Capena*, and Martial, *Capena grandi porta qua pluit gutta*.

In numbering the table of contents, I have followed the arrangement of the book, which is slightly inverted by the author in the margin of his map, the Arch of Drusus being numbered ix, whereas in the book it is properly xi.—W.

consent is placed under the villa formerly called "Mattei," before arriving at the thermæ of Antoninus—that this region could not extend further than the Appian or St. Sebastian gate. It appears, also, that this region was altogether situated beyond the ancient enclosure of the walls of Servius, though within that of Aurelian, occupying in the plain the space situated between the spot where the ancient Porta Capena and the Porta Appia stood, with a part of the two hills rising on the side of this locality beyond the Antonine thermæ.

Porta Capena.—The site of the Porta Capena, which gave its name to this region, was determined by the discovery made in the seventeenth century, a little beyond the Porta Appia, of the miliary column denoting the first mile, which is now preserved in the Capitol; since, from the spot indicated, (where, according to the statements of Fabretti, Ficoroni, Valesio, and Revillas, the said miliary column was found,) corresponding to about 500 palms beyond the Appian, (now the S. Sebastian gate), applying backwards the measure of an ancient mile, it refers precisely to the spot where the tops of the Celian and Aventine hills most nearly approximate, between the upper garden of S. Gregorio and the church of Santa Balbina, where the walls of Servius must have parted from the two said nearest heights to reunite in the valley on the sides of the Porta Capena, where the celebrated Appian way commenced, from which, after a short space, the Latin way branched off. According to an explanation given by an ancient scholiast of Juvenal, relative to what the poet wrote in the third satire, it is ascertained that the

name of this gate was derived from the temple and wood of the Camenæ, which were near it. We learn likewise from Juvenal, that the *Acqua Appia* passed over the gate and rendered it damp. From what Cicero wrote in his first letter to Atticus, it is ascertained that around this *Porta Capena* there were several temples, the steps of which could hold many persons.

Fountain and Temple of Mercury.—One of the principal edifices situated near the *Capena* gate must have been the one dedicated to Mercury, which is registered in this region by Rufus and Victor, and was probably near the celebrated spring of the Mercury water of which Ovid, amongst other ancient writers, shewed the vicinity to this gate.*

In some excavations lately made between the ruins of an ancient building existing in the vineyard of the Camaldoline monks of S. Gregorio, the spring of this water has been retraced, which circumstance has proved that the temple must have been near this spot. In fact, it was here that Piranesi found the remains of a double archway, which are supposed to have belonged to the *Capena* gate, near which was the Mercury water; and, if these arches were not actually those of the gate itself, which must have stood more towards the present

* Est aqua Mercurii portæ vicina Capenæ :

Si juvat expertis credere, numen habet.

Huc venit incinctus tunicam mercator ; et urna

Purus suffusa, quam ferat, haurit aquam.

OVID. *Fasti*, v. 673-6.

Aqua Mercurii.—Hoc solum testimonio probant viri docti extra portam Capenam Viâ Appiâ aquam fuisse ita nuncupatam : qua populus, qui negotio et quæstui operam dabat, lustrari solitus. Neap.—W.

road leading to the Porta S. Sebastiano, it seems, at least, that they formed part of the aqueduct of the Marcian and Appian waters; as, according to Frontinus, the aqueduct of the former of these streams terminated upon the Capena gate, and that of the latter passed in its vicinity; and being, for this reason, damp, it was called by the ancients the Wet gate. Some remains of the aqueduct of the Appian water, in its continuation, were found at the base of the adjoining Celian hill. Thus, the ruins found where the spring of the Mercury water was discovered, must have belonged either to the fountain itself or to some enclosure of the temple. Amongst the fragments of the Capitoline plan there exists one marked LXIV, on which is carved a kind of round altar, together with a few letters which are interpreted as having denoted the area of Mercury, and, as a similar area with an altar is marked by Rufus in this region, it may be supposed that this probably formed a piazza before the temple, in the middle of which stood the altar just described.

Temples of Honour and Virtue.—These temples also, were near the Porta Capena, and, in the Notitiæ of the Empire, are mentioned before any other edifice, as being situated at this spot. Their vicinity is proved by Livy in speaking of the Syracusan spoils brought to Rome by Marcellus; and the same writer assures us that one temple only had been vowed by Marcellus in the Gallic war to these divinities, but that the priests had prevented its dedication, maintaining that a single *cella* could not be consecrated to two different gods, for which reason another temple was subsequently added

to Virtue, and built in a short time.* This addition is proved, by the fourteenth letter of Symmacus, to have been made by means of another “*cella*,” placed in a way to render the temple double, like that of Venus at Rome built by Hadrian. But this temple, dedicated to Honour and Virtue, was the identical one frequently mentioned by Vitruvius, and built in a good style of architecture by Caius Mutius, and must have had two “*cellæ*,” called by him Marcellianæ, from the name of the founder, joined to each other, and enclosed by a portico in imitation of the round temples; but this portico did not extend to the back part, as is stated by that writer.

Fountain and Temple of the Muses.—From the letter of Symmacus cited above, it is known that near the temples of Honour and Virtue was the sacred spring of the Camenæ, which, together with the celebrated cave of Egeria, are particularly proved by the well known verses of Juvenal, in the third satire, to have been at a short distance from the Porta Capena. Thus, it may be supposed to have been situated in the valley commencing opposite to the Antonine Thermæ, near S. Sisto, and not in that named the Caffarella, which is at a great distance from the spot where the Porta Capena

* “*Marcellum aliæ atque aliæ objectæ animo religiones tenebant: in quibus, quod, quum bello Gallico ad Clastidium ædem Honori et Virtuti vovisset, dedicatio ejus a pontificibus impediabatur: quod negabant, unam cellam duobus recte dedicari: quia, si de cœlo tacta, aut prodigii aliquid in ea factum esset, difficilis procuratio foret: quod, utri Deo res divina fieret, sciri non posset. Neque enim duobus, nisi certis, Deis rite una hostia fieri, ita addita Virtutis ædes adproperato opere: neque tamen ab ipso ædes eæ dedicatæ sunt.*”—LIVY, xxvii. 25.—W.

stood, as stated by sundry topographers. Even the temple of the Camenæ, mentioned by Victor and the Notitia, appears to have been situated on this spot, and perhaps where the church of S. Sisto now stands. The sacred wood of the Camenæ, mentioned in the verses of Juvenal, was evidently situated near the temple and at the foot of the neighbouring hill, in which seems to have existed the grotto of Egeria,* which has given rise to so much discussion.

* The situation of the so celebrated wood of the Camenæ, with the valley and cave of Ægeria, is determined by the well-known verses of Juvenal :—

“Sed dum tota domus rhedâ componitur unâ,
 Substitit ad veteres arcus, madidamque Capenam ;
 Hîc, ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ.
 Nunc sacri fontis nemus, et delubra locantur
 Judæis, quorum cophinus, fœnumque supellex.
 Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere jussa est
 Arbor, et ejectis mendicat sylva Camœnis.
 In vallem Ægeriæ descendimus, et speluncas
 Dissimiles veris. Quanto præstantius esset
 Numen aquæ, viridi si margine clauderet undas
 Herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum ? ”

JUVENAL, iii. 10, &c.

As Juvenal and his friend Umbricius waited in the valley of Ægeria until the waggon laden with his furniture should overtake him, and were there informed that the horses had come up (as appears from the following verses), it is concluded that the valley with the cave of Ægeria were not far removed from the Appian way, which issued from the Porta Capena :—

“His alias poteram, et plures subnectere causas :
 Sed jumenta vocant, et sol inclinât : eundem est.”

The compiler of Murray's “Hand-book on Rome,” p. 325, has placed the fountain of Ægeria in the valley called Caffarella, which fountain, according to classical authority and modern topographers, is in a totally different situation.—W.

Mutatorium of Cæsar.—In a fragment of the Capitoline map, LVI., there is an indication of the Mutatorium of Cæsar, noted here by the Regionaries; and as the Area Radicaria, situated in the twelfth region, is marked on the same fragment, and as there is no position more fit to apply what is represented on the fragment, on the limit of the two regions, than that situated between the Porta Capena and S. Sisto where the ancient Via Appia passed, and a road being also traced on the said fragment, it may be decided that the Mutatorium of Cæsar stood at a short distance from the ancient Via Appia, towards the above-named building of S. Sisto. What this Mutatorium was, is not clearly known, and its shape is not well defined by the fragment.

Temple of Mars.—Rufus and Victor, prior to any other edifice, notice in this region the Temple of Mars, which is pointed out by Servius (in the notes on the first book of the *Æneid*), in the Via Appia without the city, and near the Porta Capena, and that it was in sight of this gate is proved by the verses of Ovid;* and, as out of the St. Sebastian gate, on the right, in

* “Lux eadem Marti festa est: quem prospicit extra
Appositum *Tectæ* ¹ porta Capena viæ.”

OVID, *Fasti*, vi. 191.

So in Livy we read, “Cum omnes EXTRA portam Capenam ad Martis ædem convenire armatos juniores jussisset.”—Lib. vii. 23.

¹ *Tectæ*.—Canina has given this *Rectæ*, others *Dextræ*; I have given the above reading on the authority of the best versions. Commentators find a difficulty in explaining the expression *Tectæ viæ*. Donatus supposes it may have been “arched over, or had porticoes along it;” Schrevelius, “*lapide strata*, or paved.”—W.

the Naro vineyard, an ancient inscription has been found, relating to a levelling made on the hill of Mars,* it may be concluded that the temple was erected on that site, further towards the Porta Capena, and consequently on that part of the hill which is above S. Cesareo, where a prominence stretching out a little towards the Via Appia may still be seen. On this spot, before the erection of the Antonine Thermæ, the temple was more open to the view of the Porta Capena.

Tomb of the Scipios.—From the Via Appia, which passed through the ancient Capena gate, the Latin way branched off at a short distance, and to it a distinct gate conducted from the walls of Aurelian. Along the part of the Via Appia which, after this branching off, extended to the gate known by that name, and exactly in the Sassi vineyard, in the latter years of the last century, the interesting discovery was made of the tomb

* An inscription was found relating to the lowering of the hill of Mars, which stood in its place along the Via Appia down to the eighth century, and has been transported to the Vatican Museum: it is written in the following terms:—

SENATUS
POPULUSQUE
ROMANUS
CLIVOM
MARTIS
PECUNIA . PUBLICA
IN . PLANITIAM
REDIGENDUM
CURAVIT.

Another inscription was found, referred to by Grutero, relating to this same hill of Mars, and is as follows:—

CLIVUM . MARTIS . PEC . PUBLICA . . .
IN . PLANICIEM REDEGERUNT . . .
S. P. Q. R.

belonging to the celebrated family of the Scipios. It was found cut in the tufo, the front adorned in a style of architecture agreeing with the early style peculiar to the Romans, which nearly approached Greek art. This was one of the most celebrated tombs that existed out of the Capena gate, as expressly declared by Cicero, in his first book of the Tusculana, wherein he enumerates this tomb of the Scipios with that of Calatinus, of the Servilii, and of the Metelli; and we learn from Livy, that on its exterior were placed the statues of Publius and Lucius Scipio, together with that of the poet Quintus Ennius. The inscription found in this tomb was transferred to the Vatican Museum, and on the monument were substituted copies, to preserve the remembrance of it. Before the entrance to the sepulchre traces of an ancient road were found, which was supposed to have served as a communication between the Appian and Latin ways.

*Temple of the Tempest.**—Among the inscriptions found in the tomb above described, was one of L. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Barbatus, which served to verify the antiquity of another inscription of this same Scipio, the conqueror of Corsica and of the town of

* The inscription of Lucius Cornelius Scipio that names the Temple of the Tempest, and which is referred to by the topographers, is also interesting from the manner in which it was engraved.

HONC . OINO . PLOIRVME . CONSENTIONT . R . . .

DVONORO . OPTVMO . FVISE . VIRO

LVCION . SCIPIONE . FILIOS . BARBATI

CONSOL . CENSOR . AIDILIS . HIC . FVET . A

HÆC . CEPIT . CORSICA . ALERIAQVE . VRBE

DEDET . TEMPESTATIBVS . AIDE . MERETO,

Aleria (discovered before in the same place), relating to the building of that Temple of the Tempest noted by Rufus and Victor in this region. From that inscription, it may be inferred that the same temple was situated at a short distance from the place where the inscription was found.

Tombs of the Furian and Manilian Families.—In the Moroni vineyard, nearly facing the tombs of the Scipios, two other ancient sepulchres were found, which were ascertained by their inscriptions to have belonged, one to the Furian, the second to the Manilian family. Remains of other tombs were brought to light along the same road, before arriving at the St. Sebastian gate, but it has not been discovered to whom they belonged.

Tomb near the Porta Latina.—In the upper part of the Codini vineyard, and near the Latin gate, another tomb in good preservation was lately found, which from the very ancient inscriptions it bears, and its style of architecture, may be recognized as having been raised at the time when Rome was still under the republican form of government, or, at the most, in the first years of the Empire; one of the inscriptions which is still legible, being that of a female attendant of the daughter of Augustus. This sepulchre is very interesting, from its being entire as well as on account of its form, which was, however disfigured, in subsequent times, by the addition of other buildings. Near the tomb are ruins of various edifices, which, from the rare marbles found in them, must have been richly adorned and raised in this fine position in the time of the emperors. In the vicinity of the same sepulchre, traces

have been found of an ancient way, which necessarily communicated with the Appian, and also evidently with the one found near the Scipios' tomb.

Common sepulchre.—A few months ago, another tomb—disposed in the form of a *columbarium*, was found in the Codini vineyard, at a short distance from that of the Scipios, and, by order of the Camerlengo department, it was covered over with a solid structure, for its better preservation and inspection by the amateurs of antiquities. It contains several sepulchral inscriptions, from which (as they belonged to different persons) it is ascertained, that the sepulchre was built by some contractor who let out narrow spaces wherein to deposit the ashes of persons who had not, or could not procure a private tomb*. Near this common sepulchre, have been discovered the ruins of other similar *colombarii*, but much disfigured by the excavations made in past times.

In raising the new enclosure around the arch of Drusus, the remains of other tombs have been found that lined the Via Appia, but nothing has appeared to indicate to whom they belonged: these remains are visible on the side of the same arch.

From all these discoveries lately made on the little

* Concerning the sepulchre near the Porta Latina, and the excavations made in the present year, the Cavaliere Campana has lately written a learned dissertation. He was the discoverer of these monuments, and is entrusted with their preservation.

A notice is given in "Italy in the Nineteenth Century," explanatory of the present appearance of these Roman sepulchres, and of the discoveries of the accomplished antiquary whose name has been mentioned.—W.

hill that rises between the Appian and the Latin ways, and enclosed within the walls of Aurelian, it is ascertained that, in the beginning of the Empire, and in the latter years of the Republic especially, it was converted into a common cemetery. This locality has furnished numerous remains of various tombs, which tombs on the right extended to the Via Latina, on the left to the Via Appia, roads that diverged at a short distance from the Capena gate as already explained.

Arch of Drusus.—Before arriving at the Porta Appia, now S. Sebastiani, there is an ancient arch in a great part preserved, and generally supposed to be the one which, according to Suetonius, was raised by the Senate to Drusus on the Appian Way, and which had been adorned with sculptures representing trophies. As amongst the different streets of this region the Drusian is marked, it may be presumed that the street was near this arch. There are visible traces on this monument of an aqueduct made at a period subsequent to the construction of the arch, evidently to convey the water to the Antonine thermæ, as may be inferred from the continuation of the same aqueduct stretching towards the hill. Visible traces of this aqueduct have been lately found on the sides of the arch. This aqueduct conveyed, perhaps, also the water to the thermæ of Commodus and Severus, which are marked in this region by Rufus, Victor, and the Notitiæ, and which must have been hereabouts; but nothing remains to enable us to fix their real position. In the Casali vineyard, near this arch, were found and destroyed the pilasters that supported the arches of the continuation of this aqueduct.

The River Almo.—At a short distance from the Porta Appia (now St. Sebastian) there is a small stream which rises towards the commencement of the Caffarella valley, and falls into the Tiber near the first mile of the Via Ostiensis. It is supposed to be the Almo, marked in this region in the catalogues of the Regionaries. Its ancient course probably approached a little nearer to the city, so that it might have formed part of this same region, according to the limits indicated above. This little stream was celebrated amongst the ancients, as its waters served to wash the image and the utensils belonging to the worship of the goddess Cybele.* The celebrated Via Appia, which passed through the Appian gate, was adorned with many splendid tombs, several of which remains still exist, and particularly of the celebrated sepulchre of Cicilia Metella. Near this tomb there also exists, in a great part preserved, the Circus commonly called that of Caracalla; but from some inscriptions lately found, it is ascertained to have been more probably built, or in a great part restored by Romulus the son of Maxentius.

* “Est locus, in Tiberin quâ lubricus influit Almo,

Et nomen magno perdit ab amne minor.

Illic purpureâ canus cum veste sacerdos

Almonis Dominam sacraque lavit aquis.”

OVID., *Fasti*, iv. 337.

“Capena grandi porta qua pluit gutta,

Phrygiæque Matris Almo quâ lavat ferrum,” &c.

MARTIAL, iii. 47.

It is plain from the *dominam sacraque lavit* and *quâ lavat ferrum*, that it was the custom to wash the image of the goddess and her chariot, the sacred vessels and sacrificing knife (*ferrum*), every year in the Almo.—W.

REGION II.

CELIMONTANA.

1. Temple of Claudius.—2. Arch of Dolabella and Silanus.—
3. Quarters of Foreign Soldiers.—4. Quarters of the Albani.—
5. The Great Market.—6. House of Vitellius.—7. Campus Martius.—8. House of Marcus Aurelius.—9. House of Laterani.—
10. Fifth Cohort of the Watch.—11. The little Celian and Chapel of Diana.—12. Public Baths.—13. House of Philip.—
14. Campus Fontinalis.—Neronian Arches (not in Map).

THE circumference of the Celimontana region, so called from the Celian hill on which it was situated, is determined by the form of the hill itself, as its circuit amounts to about the 12 or 13,200 feet assigned to it by the Regionaries. It excludes, however, the other hill, situated towards the Porta Latina, which it is thought formed part of the antecedent region and is considered by various topographers as the little Celian of the ancients; nor can one include in this region the plain lying towards the Esquiline, in which Nardini was of opinion that the ancient *suburra* had been situated.

Temple of Claudius.—The position of this temple of Claudius, which, as related by Suetonius, had been raised by Vespasian on the ruins of the one commenced by Agrippina, and destroyed by Nero,* is designated by

* "Fecit et nova opera, templum Pacis Foro proximum:

Frontinus, who says, that the Neronian arches of the "Acqua Claudia" followed from the "Speranza Vecchia" the course of the Celian hill, and terminated precisely near this temple. Now, as on the Celian, there are many remains of the arches that sustained this aqueduct; and as it is known that they ended in the upper part of the garden joining the convent of S. Giovanni e Paolo, it is certain that here stood the temple of Claudius. In fact, in this locality there are many remains indicating that it was surrounded by a large building, destined to sundry uses. According to what is related by Suetonius, it appears that it may be decided that, in the middle part of this position, the first temple was placed by Agrippina, and that Nero, in raising several buildings that bordered on his lake, situated where the Flavian amphitheatre was raised afterwards, or applying this spot to the use of some *nymphæum* or other fine edifice, to receive and to shew off the water he introduced, destroyed what had been begun by Agrippina. It is also probable that Vespasian, who availed himself occasionally of the places already occupied by the Neronian buildings to situate his own edifices, rebuilt here the Temple of Claudius, which the Regionaries have marked down. In this fine situation the temple, having evidently been surrounded by a handsome enclosure, must have presented a majestic aspect, and was perhaps one of the largest buildings in Rome. Along the lower part of this locality, turned towards the Palatine, it is

divique *Claudii* in Cœlio monte, cœptum quidem ab Agrippina, sed à Nerone prope funditus destructum."—SÜETONIUS in *Vespasiano*, ix.

seen by the remains that exist under the convent of S. Giovanni e Paolo, that two rows of arches had been built here, in which it has been discovered that an enclosure had been made to contain the wild beasts destined for the games exhibited in the neighbouring amphitheatre, particularly in the time of Domitian. In the middle of the same side, in the ruins detached from the remaining edifice, it is seen that large steps had been made which descended from the upper story into the valley placed between the Celian and the Palatine, as still more visibly are found similar steps made in the middle of the side turned towards the Flavian amphitheatre. On this side the Claudian waters evidently issued ; and, after producing a fine effect here, they went first to increase the pond or lake of Nero, and subsequently served for the use of the amphitheatre erected on the same spot. On the other side of this position, which is turned towards the east, are large remnants of semicircular and quadrangular niches, disposed alternately, that certainly served as an ornament to the stadium which is supposed to have been made in the little valley underneath, as is proved by the form the place preserves, and the remains of a goal found in it, with many other antique objects. On the southern part also of this same locality, where the arches of the Neronian aqueduct terminated, it appears to me that it may very properly be supposed that there was built what is engraved in fragment, LVII of the Capitoline map, on which is indicated an aqueduct sustained by arches, with large walls in the middle, which must have formed the base of a fine façade, raised to shew to advantage the

issue of the waters as suitable to the above-named magnificent aqueduct. This fragment could never have represented the septizonium of Severus, as commonly believed, since it agrees neither with the form of what is there represented, nor with the manner in which the large building is united with the aqueduct above described.

Arch of Dolabella and Silanus.—The modern way of S. Stefano Rotondo seems to preserve the same direction as an ancient way, united with the ascent called that of Scaurus. This way was so called from having been made by Scaurus, (many other ancient ways being called from the name of their restorer,) and not because his house was situated on it as has been believed by some writers, since the house of Scaurus was on the Palatine. The continuation of the said ancient way is indicated by the direction of the Neronian aqueduct above described. Across this way, near the entrance to the villa, formerly Mattei, there exists an ancient arch which, it is seen by the inscription engraved on its front, had been built under the consulate of P. Cornelius Dolabella and C. Junius Silanus, a priest of Mars; which consulate, corresponding to the year 746 of Rome, shews that the arch itself was raised before the construction of the above-named aqueduct. It is over this arch that Nero directed his aqueduct, as is clearly seen by its particular construction, and from the pedestals of the arches which on both sides continued to support it.

Neronian Arches.—The entire Celimontana region nearly was traversed by the above-named Neronian arches, which supported the aqueduct that conveyed a part of the

“Acqua Claudia” from the spot named the “Speranza Vecchia” till near the Temple of Claudius just described, as it is declared by Frontinus. These arches stretch from the arch of Silanus and Dolabella towards the Lateran basilica, where an arch is said to have existed in times not very remote, before the hospital of S. Giovanni, on which an inscription existed, stating that Lucius Septimius Severus, and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, his son, had restored the Celimontana arches that were in many places ruined.

The quarters of Foreign Soldiers.—Before reaching the above described arch of Silanus and Dolabella, the aqueduct, makes a turn so as to leave a large space in front, whence it may be presumed that this arch was originally built to adorn the entrance of some enclosure of a large building, and perhaps of the foreign quarters, which are indicated here by the Regionaries, since in the Casali vineyard, situated here, several ancient inscriptions have been found relating to these quarters. And, from another inscription found there near the piazza S. Maria della Navicella,* it is known that there existed here a

* Amongst the different inscriptions found in this locality, and belonging to the quarters of the foreign soldiers, there exists one now standing in the Collegio Romano, and which is very interesting :—

GENIO . SANCTO.
 CASTRORVM
 PEREGRINORVM
 CVR . ALEXANDER
 CANALICLARIVS
 QVOD . PEREGRE
 CONSTITVTVS . VOVIT.

temple of “Returning Jove,” (“Giove Reduce”) decorated by Domitius Bassus, and erected by the same foreign soldiers. It is further known, by the memoirs of Sante Bartoli, that in these environs there were found, in the times of Clement X, many ancient remains of buildings known to have belonged to these quarters, with other ruins of fine edifices with halls, court-yards, porticoes, and precious columns. From these indications it may be inferred that the quarters of the foreigners extended from the arch of Silanus and Dolabella towards the site of the Neronian aqueduct; and that the temple of “Returning Jove” was in the middle towards the Piazza della Navicella, where the inscription was found that related to it.

Quarters of the Albani.—In the upper part of the gardens belonging to the monastery of S. Gregorio, there

AEDIL . CASTRORVM
VOTVM . LIBENS . SOLVIT.

The following inscriptions were found near the church of S. Maria, in Dominica : the first was thus written :—

VOTIS	VOTIS
X . ANNALIB . PRO . SALVTE . ET . REDITU . D . N . IMP . CAESARIS	
XX . ANNALIB .	
FELICITER PIO . FELICI . FELICITER .	
INVICTO . AVG . DOMITIVS . BASSVS . FR . AGENS	
VICE . PRINCIPIS . PEREGRINORUM . TEMPLUM . IOVIS . REDUCIS . C . P . ONNI	
CVLTV . DE . SVO . EXORAVIT .	

The second simply said—

GOCCEIVS
PATRVINVS
PRINC
PEREGRI
NORVM .

remain traces of a long wall, of reticular construction, which unites with other remains of walls situated under the villa, formerly Mattei, towards the Aventine; being of the same construction, it may be presumed they belonged to the same building. The appearance of these ruins accords, in a certain degree, with what is engraved in a fragment of the ancient Capitoline map XIV, representing a large edifice with a court in the middle, and surrounded by porticoes. This edifice, placed in this situation, seems certainly to have been adapted to the Alban quarters which are assigned to this spot by the Regionaries. To one side of this edifice are united the ancient remains of a kind of portico, with shops placed along the ascent of Scaurus; and on a part of these remains arches were built in later times to sustain the western side of the church of S. Giovanni e Paolo.

Fifth Cohort of the Watch.—From the discovery made in the year 1820, within the Mattei Villa, near the entrance to the right of the church S. Maria in Dominica, of two inscriptions, one of which was engraved on the pedestal of a statue, dedicated to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus by the fifth cohort of the watch,* it is ascertained that this place was the

* The inscription cut on the above-mentioned pedestal is expressed in the following manner:—

IMP . CAES . M . AVRELLIO .
 ANTONINO . PIO . FELICI .
 AVG . TRIB . POT . XIII . IMP . II .
 COS . III . PRO . COS .
 IMP . CAES . L . SEPTIMI . SEVERI
 PIL . PERTINACIS . AVG . FILIO
 DEVOTA . NVMINI . ET . MAIESTATI . EIVS .

station of the above-named cohort, as is registered in the catalogues of the Regionaries. There were seven cohorts of the watch stationed in Rome, one of which served for every two regions, as is expressly stated by the Jurisconsult Paulus,* and they were distributed according to the catalogue of Victor, which is verified still more in the following manner:—The fifth cohort in the Celimontana region — the second cohort in the fifth or Esquiline region—the third cohort in the Alta Semita or sixth region—the first cohort in the seventh or Via Lata region—the sixth cohort in the Forum Romanum or eighth region—the fourth cohort

COH. V. VIG.

C. IVLIO QVINTILIANO . PR.

M. FIRMIO. AMYNTIANO. SPR.

L. SPERATIO. IVSTO, TRIB.

CENTVRIONES.

C. ANTONIVS . C. F. ANTVLLVS. BERVAE.

TI . CLAVDIVS . TI . F . RVFINVS . SAVAR.

M . ANTONIVS . M. F. PAPIR . VALENS . RATIAR

M . MVMMIVS M . F . VERINVS. PAP. POETQV.

PAELIVS P . F . AEL. SEPT. ROMVLVS AQVINQ

. SEVERVS CAESARIA

IVLI S SOHEMVS

C RASIMIVS IANVARIVS CORNIC PR

P. DECIMVS MACRINVS CORNIC PR

M CLODIVS VE RECVNDVS CORNIC SPR

On the other sides of the said pedestal was found registered the names of the watches belonging to the fifth cohort, as also in another inscription discovered in the same place. All these inscriptions were illustrated with much learning by Kellermann, in his work.

* “Septem cohortes opportunis locis constituit, ut binas regiones urbis una quaeque cohors tueretur, propositis eis tribunis et super omnes spectabili viro praeposito, qui praefectus Vigilum appellatur.”—PAOLO *in Dig. i. tit. 15. De officio Praefecti Vigilum.*

in the Piscina Publica, twelfth region—and the seventh cohort in the Transtiberina or fourteenth region. As it is stated by Dion that the cohorts of the watch, established by Augustus, were stationed at the city walls, and the above named spot being situated near the enclosure of the walls built by Servius Tullius, the same that still existed at the time of Augustus, what has been said respecting the station of the fifth cohort is thus confirmed.

The Great Market.—Although the church of S. Stefano Rotondo presents, in its construction, evident signs of having been built with columns of different sorts, when it was consecrated by Pope Semplicius, it may, notwithstanding, be admitted that in this construction use was made of the foundations of some ancient building of a round form. Amongst the various opinions suggested by topographers, in recognizing this edifice, it seems to me judicious to adopt that of Nardini, who supposes that here was the *great market*, since this edifice is the same one that is represented in a medal of Nero (excluding, however, the interpretation of the letters written on the same of Magna Augusti, instead of Macellum Augusti); the circular form preserved in building the church of S. Stefano seems, in a certain manner, to be well adapted with what is represented on the medal. The position also of the monument, near the arches of the Neronian aqueduct, gives a greater degree of probability to this opinion, since we know from Dion that the provision market, called the great market, had been dedicated by Nero. On the sides of the round edifice, represented on the medal, there seem to

have been porticoes, which, with the requisite shops, evidently formed the internal enclosure of the market. To this building probably belonged some remains of ancient walls, which are situated on the eastern part of the said church.

Casa Vitelliana.—On the slope of the hill towards the city walls there exist a few ancient ruins, which now present the precise idea of the form of the buildings to which they belonged. Bufalini, however, as in his time there probably existed more extensive remains, in his map of Rome marked in this locality a kind of hall, with a large niche in the middle, which he thought had been the temple of Claudius, but from what has just been said respecting that temple, it appears more likely that they formed part of the great house of Vitellius, which was in this region.

Campus Martius.—A little beyond these ruins, towards the Lateran Basilica, and at the little church of S. Maria Imperatrice, there exist some remains of long walls of reticulated construction, which, from their vicinity to the church of S. Maria Imperatrice, dedicated in early times to St. Gregory, surnamed in Martio, seem to have belonged to the building that formed the internal enclosure around the Celimontana Campus Martius, in which the Equiriæ,* were celebrated in honour

* “Altera gramineo spectabis *Equiria* campo,
Quem Tyberis curvis in latus urget aquis.
Qui tamen ejectâ si fortè tenebitur undâ;
Cœlius accipiet pulverulentus equos.”

OVID, *Fasti*, iii. 519.

Equiria, Scil ;—Ludi Curules a Romulo in honorem Martis

of Mars, when the inundations of the Tiber covered the lower part of the Campus Martius, properly called—

Campus Fontinalis.—This field, stretching near to the gate of the walls of Servius Tullius, from which it had received its name, must have been situated near the spot crossed by the walls, where there remain some ruins of ancient buildings.

House of M. Aurelius.—In the part situated above these ruins, towards the Lateran Basilica, where some remains of other ancient walls exist, evidently stood the house of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, which is proved by a passage of Capitolinus in “Pertinax” to have been near the Lateran Palace.

House of the Laterani.—It is generally known that the Constantine Basilica of St. John was raised on the house of the Laterani, from which this Basilica has taken the denomination of Lateranense, which it still preserves. This house belonged to the Plautius Lateranus who, on his election to the consulate, joined the conspiracy of Piso against Nero, and became a victim with the other confederates.† The locality is further con-

instituti. They were held on the III Kal. Mart.; so in *Fast. lib. ii.* we read—

“Marsque citos junctis curribus urget equos;
Ex vero positum permansit *Equiria* nomen;
Quæ Deus in campo prospicit ipse suo.”

* “Temporibus diris igitur, jussuque Neronis
Longinum, et magnos Senecæ prædivitis hortos
Clausit, et egregias *Lateranorum* obsidet ædes
Tota cohors.”

JUVENAL, x. 15.—W.

“Et Lucanus Annæus, Plautiusque *Lateranus* consul desig-

firmed by divers inscriptions found on the spot. In laying the foundations of the *façade* of the modern Basilica, several rooms and baths were also found that belonged to the same house; and, in the time of Flaminius Vacca, there were found before the choir, and at the altar of the apostles, three very large niches opposite each other, with some walls that followed the same direction as the church, from which it was concluded that Constantine, in raising his Basilica, profited by the foundations of the house above described. It was thus ascertained that the ancient house of the Laterani was placed in the same direction as the Constantine Basilica, and that the baptistry of Constantine adjoining it, with the remains of walls situated around having another direction, are altogether of a posterior construction and evidently raised at the period of the Papal government. To this same period must have belonged those walls which were found, built with divers fragments of ancient marbles, in the excavations made of late years in the vineyard of the Chapter of St. John, and likewise the large wall discovered within the adjoining hospital, built in the same manner, as stated in the memoirs of Vacca. As to the house of the Laterani, if it had passed into the possession of the emperors, and was, as supposed, inhabited by some of those sovereigns, it must have been of great size and magnificence. Its principal entrance seems to have been on the side of the ancient road along the line of the Claudian aqueduct.

natus, vivida odia intulere. . . . Lateranum, consulem designatum, nulla injuria, sed amor reipublicæ sociavit." *Vide* TACITUS, *Annal.* lib. xv. c. 49.—W.

The little Celian and Chapel of Diana.—On the slope of the hill passing from the Lateran buildings to the church of St. Quattro Coronati, there are some slight remains of walls that probably served as supporters of the houses that were situated there. The site of the Quattro Coronati church, from its elevation almost separated on two sides from the remainder of the hill, seems to have been that part of the Celian called by the ancients the little Celian, and here stood the chapel of Diana, which was afterwards pulled down by Piso, as is related by Cicero.*

* The etymology of *Celiolus* is derived from having been a little hill depending on the Cœlian itself, as appears from the lines of Martial:—

“Dum tu forsitan inquietus erras
Clamosa, Juvenalis, in Subura,
Aut *Collem* dominæ teris *Dianæ*;
Dum per limina te potentiorum
Sudatrix toga ventilat, vagumque
Major Cœlius, et minor fatigant.”—MART. xii. 18.

The Celiolan was situated near the church of St. Quattro Coronati, and not at the Porta Latina, where several topographers have erroneously placed it. *Collem Dianæ* refers to the Aventine Mount, upon which was a temple dedicated to Diana; and with reference to the mountain, major *Cælius*, the classical scholar will remember the account Tacitus gives of its more ancient name, and the origin of its modern one:—“Haud fuerit absurdum tradere, montem eum antiquitus † *Querquetulanum* cognomento fuisse, quod talis sylvæ frequens, fœcundusque erat: mox *Cælium* appellitatum a Cæle Vibennâ, qui dux gentis Etruscæ cum auxilium appellatum ductavisset, sedem eam acceperat à Tarquinio Prisco, seu quis alius regum dedit: nam scriptores in eo dissentiunt: cetera non ambigua sunt, magnas eas copias per plana etiam ac foro propinqua habitasse, unde *Thuscum vicum* e vocabulo advenarum dictum.”—*Annal.* iv. 65.

Livy accounts for the origin of the *Tuscan* street in a different

† Scil. a quernæ sylvæ.

Public Baths.—The public baths noted by Rufus after the Celimontane Campus Martius, are proved by Piranesi to have been on the site of the church of S. Pietro and Marcellino, as he saw several remains of baths at the time that the foundations of the new church and convent were laid. Flaminius Vacca, in his memoirs, states, that in his time quantities of pilasters, with arches on them, were found under the said large church, that evidently formed water reservoirs for the use of these baths.

House of Philip.—On the side of the Celian, corresponding to the beginning of the Via S. Giovanni Laterano, there remain the foundations of a large building that may be supposed to have been the house of the Emperor Philip, marked in this region by Rufus; thus, as the baths known under this emperor's name were situated in the third region, which approximates to this quarter, it may be admitted that these buildings were near each other.*

manner. (ii. 14.) The *Minor Cælius* was called Cœliolus or Cœlicolus.—W.

* If the stone with the inscription following, now in the Vatican Museum, was really found in this place as asserted, we may believe there stood here a small temple, dedicated to Hercules the vanquisher by Lucius Mummius, constructed of Tiburtine stone, being the same substance as the stone inscribed :—

L. MVMMI . L. F. COS. DVCT.
 AVSPICIO . IMPERIOQVE
 EIVS . ACHAIA . CAPT . CORINTO
 DELETO . ROMAM . REDIEIT
 TRIUMPHANS . OB . HASCE
 RES . BENE . GESTAS . QVOD
 IN . BELLO . VOVERAT
 HANC . AEDEM . ET . SIGNV.
 HERCVLIS . VICTORIS
 IMPERATOR . DEDICAT.

REGION III.

ISIS AND SERAPIS.

1. The Flavian Amphitheatre.—2. Baths of Titus.—3. Reservoirs of Water.—4. Baths of Trajan.—5. Esquiline Septizonium.—6. Public Fountain of Claudius.—7. School for Gymnastic Exercises.—8. Baths of Philip.—9. Quarters of the Misenati.—10. Portico of Livia.—11. Receptacle for Machinery used in the Public Games.

THE position of the third region, called that of Isis and Serapis, from some temple dedicated to those divinities, the position of which is no longer known, may, it seems, be determined, from the monuments it contained, to have occupied that part of the Esquiline, in a nearly triangular form, which is supposed to have been distinguished by the ancients under the name of Appius. It may, also, be decided that it extended into the plain situated between this part of the Esquiline and the part of the Celian which, from the Flavian amphitheatre, reaches to near St. John Lateran. The circuit of this region is calculated by the Regionaries at 12,450 feet—a measure nearly agreeing with the locality above described.

Flavian amphitheatre.—Rufus and Victor, prior to any other edifice, registered in this region the Flavian amphitheatre. Of this celebrated monument there still remain splendid ruins, that excite universal admiration,

and shew that it was one of the principal edifices of Ancient Rome. This amphitheatre was placed on the site of the celebrated lake of Nero, as is proved by the well known lines of Martial on the spectacles.* Around the lake rose, as stated by Suetonius,† so many buildings, that it was similar to a sea surrounded by towns; and some of these buildings seem to have been included in the plan of the amphitheatre itself, as has been observed in the excavations made around it, and particularly in the part situated towards the Temple of Venus and Rome. In sundry small fragments of the ancient map of Rome, L, a part of this amphitheatre is marked. As to what relates to the architecture and arrangement of this celebrated monument,

* This is alluded to in pointed sarcasm by Martial:—

“Hic, ubi conspicui venerabilis amphitheatri

Erigitur moles, *stagna Neronis erant.*

Hic, ubi miramur velocia munera thermas,

Abstulerat miseris tecta superbus ager.”

MARTIAL, *Spectac.* ii.

† “Vestibulum ejus fuit, in quo colossus centum viginti pedum staret ipsius effigie: tanta laxitas, ut porticus triplices miliarias haberet: *item stagnum maris instar, circumseptum ædificiis ad urbium speciem.*”—SÜETONIUS in *Nerone*.

Velocia munera. Scil.—Thermæ velociter a *Tito* in gratiam populi exstructæ.

I add the well-known passage of Tacitus as strikingly confirmatory of this subject:—

“Ceterum Nero usus est patriæ ruinis, exstruxitque domum, in qua haud perinde gemmæ et aurum miraculo essent, solita pridem, et luxu vulgata; quam arva et stagna, et in modum solitudinum hinc sylvæ, inde aperta spatia, et prospectus: magistris et machinatoribus Severo et Celere, quibus ingenium et audacia erat, etiam quæ natura denegavisset, per artem tentare, et viribus Principis inludere.”—*Annal.* lib. xv.—W.

this matter cannot be properly treated in a simple topographical indication.*

Baths of Titus.—From the amphitheatre just mentioned, by means of a portico, the trace of which is seen

* This amphitheatre is believed to have been entirely finished only in the time of Domitian. However, having been commenced and nearly completed by Flavius Augustus, it was generally named the Flavian amphitheatre; then more commonly the Colosseum; deriving this denomination either from its colossal mass, or from the colossal statue of Nero which after its last removal stood near it, as will be observed in the succeeding region. Not many years since this edifice was entirely encumbered with soil, which covered it up to the height of the first arches; and, during the extensive works of excavation, there were discovered under the level of the *arena* divers small apartments, regularly disposed and divided by passages, which corresponded with the curvature of the building, and seemed to contain the wild beasts which were used in the spectacles. At the same time was also discovered the passage which led to the *celeari* in which it is believed Commodus was assailed by the conspirators. In the several stages which from the Podium were piled over each other to the internal summit of the edifice, it is established that 80,000 spectators could have been seated, as we find registered in the catalogue of Victor, and in the notices of the empire.—*Note by Canina.*

“One evening, as the emperor was returning to the palace through a dark and narrow portico, in the amphitheatre, an assassin, who waited his passage, rushed upon him with a drawn sword, loudly exclaiming ‘The senate sends you this!’ The menace prevented the deed—the assassin was seized by the guards.”—GIBBON.

I would add, there cannot be imagined a more convenient spot for an assassination at present than the deserted passages of the Colosseum. A strong guard, however, occupies the building.

The historian of the “Decline and Fall,” in describing the vulgar pursuits of the tyrant Commodus, draws a vivid picture of the elegant amusements of a Roman amphitheatre. “Commodus resolved to exhibit before the eyes of the Roman people. On the appointed day, the various motives of flattery, fear, and curi-

in the centre of its northern side and as designed in medals existing of this monument there was a communication made with the Baths of Titus, after the dedication of the amphitheatre when it had been completed, which portico Titus built near it in a short space of time, as Suetonius* relates in his life. On the Esqui-

osity, attracted to the amphitheatre an innumerable multitude of spectators. With arrows whose point was shaped into the form of a crescent, Commodus often intercepted the rapid career, and cut asunder the long, bony neck of the ostrich. A panther was let loose, and the archer waited till he had leaped upon a trembling malefactor. In the same instant the shaft flew, the beast dropped dead, and the man remained unhurt. The dens of the amphitheatre disgorged at once *a hundred lions*, a hundred darts from the unerring hand of Commodus laid them dead as they ran raging round the arena. Neither the huge bulk of the elephant, nor the scaly hide of the rhinoceros could defend them from his stroke. Æthiopia and India yielded their most extraordinary productions, and several animals were slain in the amphitheatre which had been seen only in the representations of art, or perhaps of fancy."

What a spectacle! Gibbon subjoins in a note as a remarkable fact: "Commodus killed a *camelopardalis* or giraffe, the tallest and most gentle of the large quadrupeds. This singular animal, a native only of the interior parts of Africa, has not been seen in Europe since the revival of letters, and Buffon, though he has endeavoured to describe, he has not ventured to delineate, the giraffe."

Had the historian lived till our day, he would have seen our Zoological gardens equal the wonders of the amphitheatre,—the imagination of the naturalist yields to the reality. We are, however, fortunately scarce in the possession of such emperors as Commodus.—W.

* "Amphitheatro dedicato, *thermisque juxta celeriter extructis*, munus edidit apparatissimum largissimumque."—SÜETONIUS in *Tito*.

Amphitheatro dedicato.—"Augustus id opus destinavit; Vespasianus exstruxit; Titus dedicavit."—W.

line, immediately in the vicinity of the Flavian amphitheatre, various ruins of these baths are found, and as it is clearly seen that Titus made use of an anterior building to support a part of his baths, the assertion of Suetonius, that these baths were built in a short time, is confirmed. The chambers commonly called the Esquiline chambers, existing under the foundation of the Baths of Titus, may be attributed, it seems to me, to the immense building raised by Nero on the Esquiline, which, from its size and magnificence was called the Golden House, while, from the well known verses of Martial in the second epigram, it is ascertained that these baths occupied the splendid plain that formed part of the Neronian house. It is to be observed, in the plan of these two buildings, that the anterior, or Neronian, was situated perpendicularly to the southern line, and that the subsequent building, belonging to the Baths of Titus, had a direction slightly inclining towards the west. With respect to the architecture of these buildings, I will merely observe, that by a fragment of the Capitoline marbles so often mentioned, in which I found that a part of the *thermæ* of Titus had been engraved noted under xxv, the entire design of this building may be determined with certainty.

Water Reservoirs, called the Sette Sale.—Corresponding to the eastern angle of the baths of Titus above described, there exist, at a short distance, the subterranean chambers known by the name of the *Sette Sale*, which have been ascertained to have formed a reservoir

of water for the use of the adjoining baths. A fragment of the Capitoline marbles indicated under XLII., in which are traced some walls surrounded with columns, and on which are carved the first letters indicating a cistern, are considered as having related to these cisterns or reservoirs, although there were many other reservoirs in Rome. It seems, however, more probable, that the fragment marked XLII. belonged to these cisterns. These reservoirs of the thermæ of Titus are known, by their direction, to have belonged to the anterior building adapted to form part of these same baths. It being known from this circumstance that Titus availed himself of another anterior building to form reservoirs to his thermæ, it adds greater confirmation to what Suetonius wrote, that they were rapidly built, and they can be placed in no other spot than the one above described. Some remains also of ancient walls, situated in the above named angle of the thermæ of Titus, shew the communication that existed between these and the reservoirs already described, and, together with other remains, which on the same side project from the plan of the baths, shew to what point the golden house of Nero extended.

Thermæ of Trajan.—Rufus, Victor, and the Notitia, agree in registering after the thermæ of Titus those of Trajan; and that the latter were situated near the church of S. Martino, is proved by all that is stated by Anastasius, in the life of Symmacus. As, at the time of Palladio, there evidently existed here sundry ruins of these thermæ, he was able to trace their entire form, and has given designs of them which are comprised in

the collection of the Roman thermæ, published by Burlington, under the denomination of thermæ of Vespasian. Of these thermæ we have at present only slight remains of the walls that supported the area placed before the building, the ascent to which was by means of the large stairs designed by Palladio, with other remains, that belonged to the porticoes of one of the two species of court-yards indicated in the designs of the same architect, which exist in the subterranean parts of the said church of S. Martino. When Trajan built these thermæ, which, by their situation, formed almost an addition to those of Titus, it seems also, as may be inferred from the bricks found there marked with the name of Plotina, his wife, that he made many repairs and additions also to the thermæ of Titus, so that it is believed these two edifices, taken together, were called the thermæ of Trajan. They were also called the Domitian thermæ, from some restorations supposed to have been made by the Emperor Domitian, but by all the Regionaries it is only under their two proper denominations of Titus and of Trajan that they are registered in their catalogues; thus, it is idle to suppose that there were other thermæ at this spot than the two above described.*

* Near to the church of S. Martino was found under the pontificate of Paul III. the following inscription relating to the above-mentioned Baths of Titus:—

D. M.

IVLIVS . FELIX . CAMPANVS

V. C. PRAEFECTVS . VRBIS

AD. AVGENDAM . THERMARVM.

TRAIANORVM . GRATIAM . CONLOCAVIT.

Esquiline Septizonium.—In the vicinity of the above mentioned reservoirs, called the Sette Sale, it is commonly said that the celebrated group of the Laocoon was found; although the precise spot of the discovery cannot be known, the one pointed out in the subterranean chambers cleared of rubbish under the floor of Titus' Baths, not being a suitable place of deposit for such a masterpiece, as however it is known from Pliny that this group was placed in the house of Titus, it may be decided that the building was in this vicinity. Supposing this house to have been the same in which the emperor was born (which is stated by Suetonius* to have been small and mean and situated near the Septizonium with dark and narrow bedchambers), we must believe that here also there was a Septizonium, naturally called the Esquiline from its situation. Thus, the Septizonium mentioned by Suetonius, cannot be the one built by Septimius Severus in an angle of the Palatine, as the latter was of a subsequent period. The Esquiline Septizonium was probably situated at the eastern extremity of the Casa Transitoria of Nero, in a similar

I recommend the traveller to examine carefully the subterranean chambers here referred to, as having belonged to the baths of Trajan, and situated underneath the church of S. Martino. They are dry and clean, and in their present condition and from the comparative freshness of the colours, in the drawings on the walls, afford the means of forming a conception of the spacious *Thermæ* constructed by the Roman emperors, and adorned with the rarest productions of the chisel and the pencil.—W.

* "Titus, cognomine paterno, amor ac deliciæ generis humani, natus est III. Kalend. Jan. insigni anno Cajana nece prope Septizonium *sordidis ædibus*: cubiculo vero perparvo et obsenro; nam manet adhuc et ostenditur."—SÜETONIUS *in Tito*, 2.
W.

manner as that of Severus was subsequently situated at the extremity of the imperial palace of the Palatine. As the ruins that exist of the Neronian house are seen to continue beyond the space occupied by the thermæ of Titus, towards the Sette Sale, if in the vicinity stood the above-named house of Titus, it was undoubtedly near the Septizonium as indicated by Suetonius. Thus I find the form of this Septizonium designed in a fragment of the ancient Capitoline map marked under LI, on which is engraved a triple circuit of walls surrounded by columns, and in the vicinity houses of a good size situated along a way, and with a long flight of steps beside it, which shew that here was the Septizonium raised on an elevation. Placing in this locality what is seen represented on the marble, it is found with certainty that the Septizonium was built on the part of the Esquiline situated above the modern Via Labicana, and the ascent by the lane that leads to the Sette Sale, seems to have been nearly substituted for the above-named steps that led to the floor of the grand edifice. The modern Via Labicana, if not the ancient *via* of that name, as the latter evidently commenced at the Esquiline gate of the walls of Servius, seems, however, to have preserved the direction of an ancient way, as is shewn by the discovery made near the church of S. Pietro and Marcellino of a portion of pavement similar to that of the other ways of the ancients; and this way pursued its course towards the Porta Maggiore, where, together with the Prenestine gate, the Porta Labicana existed.

Nymphæum, or Artificial Fountain of Claudius.—

On the same part of the Esquiline, behind the ruins supposed to belong to the Neronian house, there are other remains of ancient walls that probably formed part of the portico marked beside the Septizonium, in the fragment above mentioned of the Capitoline plan. This edifice may be considered to have been the Nymphæum of Claudius, registered in this region by Rufus and Victor, as Ammianus informs us, that it was situated near the Septizonium, where the common people, for want of wine, came to satisfy their thirst.

Ludus Magnus.—The other remains of walls in continuation of those above described, and which extend nearly to the Strada S. Giovanni, seem, by their arrangement, to have belonged to the Ludus Magnus, registered here by the Regionaries, which is half designed in a stone of the Capitoline map, marked under LV. This Ludus, or school, devoted to some kind of gymnastic exercise, appears to have been of an oval shape, enclosed by rooms disposed in right angles around; and to this school probably belonged the remains existing in this locality.

Thermæ of Philip.—The *thermæ* of Philip, registered in this region by Victor, are proved to have been situated about the church of S. Matteo in Merulanæ, by an inscription relating to these *thermæ*, found on this spot.* The few remains of walls that exist in a

* The fragment of an inscription, which is said to have been found amidst the ruins uncovered near the church of St. Matteo, in Merulana, according to Panninus, is conceived in the following manner:—

... L. RVBRIVS . GETA . CVR. . . . P.CCCXXIII.
D. N. PHILIPPI . AVG. THERM . . .

vineyard, situated opposite the place on which the above named church stood, not being (as it was believed) of reticular construction, it is my opinion that they, in fact, belonged to these *thermæ*, but from this circumstance their precise form cannot be known.

Quarters of the Misenati.—In a small fragment of the ancient map, so often mentioned, numbered as xv, is marked the indication of the camp or quarters of the Misenati, which are registered in the catalogues of the Regionaries; and as it is known from the same fragment, that in the vicinity was the Basilica of Licinius, which is placed in the fifth region near the church of St. Vito, these quarters may be fixed in the same environs. The excavations made in the latter years of the past century, from the various objects found in them relative to marine subjects, which are supposed to have decorated a little Temple of Neptune, have determined the exact site of these quarters in the adjoining Gaetani villa; and, in fact, there remain various ruins of ancient broken walls at the opening of the Via S. Giovanni Laterano (named in Merulana), that seem to have belonged to the building which formed the internal enclosure of these quarters. The little Temple of Neptune that decorated this building (placing it where the above named objects which belong to it were found) was thus situated in the middle of the northern side of the enclosure.

Portico of Livia.—The portico of Livia, which, by all the Regionaries, is registered before the Misenati quarters above described, must have been one of the principal edifices of the ancient city, as it is classed

by Strabo among the most celebrated objects deserving of admiration in Rome. It is stated by Dion that this portico was raised by Augustus, on the site of the house of Vedius Pollio left to him as an inheritance which he caused to be pulled down; and in order that no memorial of Vedius should remain in Rome, Augustus gave to the portico the name of Livia his wife, a circumstance mentioned in the verses of Ovid.* The situation of this portico is not well known, but as the Temple of Concord, which was erected here, is fixed by the Regionaries to have stood in the following region, it is inferred that the portico was on the limits of the two regions. In this locality a more favourable spot cannot be found than that part of the Esquiline which bordered on the fourth region, towards the Temple of Venus and Rome, where there still exist ruins of ancient substructions that probably served to support the base of this portico. As for the Temple of Concord which had been built by Livia Augusta, it was probably situated at one extremity of the portico, the front part alone being within the enclosure; from this it resulted, that the limit of the region passing there, the temple might be considered as belonging indifferently to the two regions.

* "Disce tamen, veniens ætas: ubi *Livia* nunc est

Porticus, immensæ tecta fuisse domûs.

Urbis opus domus una fuit: spatiumque tenebat,

Quo brevius muris oppida multa tenent," &c.

OVID., *Fasti*, vi. 639, &c.

Immensæ tecta fuisse domûs.—The allusion is to the vast house of the luxurious Vedius Pollio, covering a large extent of ground, and which he bequeathed to Augustus, who pulled it down, and built on its site the *Porticus Liviæ*.—W.

Sommo Coragio.—Under this denomination, it is generally admitted, we are to recognise a building intended to contain the machines and instruments requisite for the games that were celebrated in the Flavian Amphitheatre, and it is therefore supposed to have been placed near the same amphitheatre. Of this edifice an indication is traced in the fragment of the Capitoline marbles, noted under LIV, which is marked in the locality to which that edifice must have belonged. Through the care of Panvinus an inscription has been preserved relating to this monument, which confirms the surname of Summo given to it, and not that of Samio as had prevailed, but he was not able to determine its style of architecture.*

* The inscription relating to *il Coragio Sommo* is explained by Panvinus in the following manner:—

HERCVLI . ET . SILVANO . EX . VOTO

TROPHIMIANVS

AVG. LIB.

PROC . SVMMI . CHORAGI

CVM . CHIA . CONIVGE . C.

The *choragus* was the superintendent of the public games.—W.

REGION IV.

TEMPLE OF PEACE, OR THE SACRED WAY.

The Sacred way described.—1. A Fountain called Meta Sudans.—2. The Colossal Statue of Nero.—3. The Temple of Venus and Rome.—4. Arch of Titus.—5. Public Market on a Hill.—6. Basilica of Constantine.—7. Portico, so called.—8. Temple of Remus.—9. Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.—10. Basilica of Paulus Emilius.—11. Forum of Passage.—12. Temple of Peace.—13. Temple of the Earth.—14. Temple of the Sun and of the Moon.—15. House of Pompey and Vicus Scele-ratus.—16. The Suburra.—17. Vicus Sandalarius.

THE fourth region was called by the ancients either the Temple of Peace or the Via Sacra, and its limits are usually admitted to be smaller than what is stated by the Regionaries, although differences are apparent in their catalogues in assigning the measurement, arising from the many edifices that existed in the region which rendered the circuit somewhat tortuous, and increased the circumference in proportion to the space occupied. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that the region was at least prolonged from the Via Sacra, or from the Temple of Venus and Rome, where it began, as far as the modern Suburra, occupying there the plain situated between the Esquiline and the Quirinal, and that it must also have extended to that part of the Esquiline on which we have placed the portico of Livia and the Temple of Concord. The circuit of this space approximates more nearly to the measure of 13,000 feet, which Victor and the *Notitiæ* assign to the circumference of this region, than what is usually supposed.

Via Sacra.—The celebrated *Via Sacra*, so called, according to the common opinion, from the sacred treaty of alliance concluded here between Romulus and Tatius, is generally admitted to have commenced at the Temple of Strenia* in the Ceriolensis before the Flavian Amphitheatre, and to have ended in the Forum Romanum at the Arch of Fabius, situated a little beyond the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina. On the line tracked by this way, which, from the Arch of Fabius, reached to the Temple of Venus and Rome (the direction being evidently that of nearly a right line), all topographers are agreed in recognising its course, but many discussions have arisen as to the deviation of the line which from that temple led to the Ceriolensis. Some were of opinion that it passed under the Arch of Titus, and thence coasting the Palatine, extended to the Meta Sudans; and others, that it turned nearly opposite the Temple of Venus and Rome towards the north, passing along the ancient substructions existing on that side. In the excavations lately made, it was ascertained that, before the building, by Hadrian, of the Temple of Venus and Rome, the *Via Sacra* passed from that site towards the Sacellum of Strenia by neither of those lines exactly, but at about midway between them, under the base of the said temple, thence following, probably, the direction of the buildings, traces of which were found under the pavement of the more modern way that passed beneath the Arch of Titus, and before the eastern front of the por-

* Strenia was a goddess at Rome, who presided over the presents which relations and friends make to each other on the return of the new year.—W.

tico of the above-named Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, where it reached its admitted termination. When, however, Hadrian in building his temple, decided, in order to give it a grander size, on occupying all the ground situated between the Palatine and the sides of the Esquiline, the Via Sacra necessarily passed under the Arch of Titus, since, on the opposite side, it has been ascertained that there did not then remain sufficient space for a principal public way like the Via Sacra.

Meta Sudans.—Beginning the description of the edifices that lined the said Via Sacra from its commencement towards the Flavian Amphitheatre, the first that presents itself is the remnant of a fountain which, from its resemblance in form to that of the META of the Circus, was called the Meta Sudans, and is registered under this name in the Regionaries' Catalogues. Its basin, discovered in the late excavations, was found to have been of greater size than had been previously supposed, and traces of the pipes that conveyed the water to it were also found.

Colossus of Nero.—In the same excavations the site was found where the great Colossus of Nero was situated after having been transferred by Hadrian under the direction of the architect Demetrius, and by means of twenty-four elephants, from the position where it had been placed by Vespasian. At this spot the Colossus was raised above the earth on a basement of brick construction evidently coated with marble, as has been proved by the excavation. The height of this Colossus, according to the most approved opinion, was

120 feet, and on the head there were seven rays each twelve feet long.

*Temple of Venus and Rome.**—The entire base of the Temple of Venus and Rome, with all that remains of the *celle*, are now uncovered, in consequence of the excavations and clearances of the earth made by the Papal Government in the years 1828, 1829, and 1830. The few ruins that remain are sufficient to give an idea of the magnificence with which this temple was built by the imperial architect. The large structure of the two *celle* was girt by the same peristyle in the form of the *pseudodipteri* temples†—the outward part of the area was surrounded by a majestic portico, entirely open on the smaller sides, and closed on the larger sides. Among the ruins of this portico are numerous blocks of granite columns scattered over the entire circuit of the temple.

* The Greeks constructed temples with two ranges of columns all round, which were called *dipteroi*. A portico projecting two columns and their interspaces is of dipteral or pseudodipteral arrangement.—W.

† Hadrian, the emperor, wishing to convince Apollodorus (the architect who had erected many buildings in Rome under Trajan, and had been exiled by Hadrian for despising some paintings of the emperors), that without him Hadrian could erect splendid fabrics, sent the architect the design of the Temple of Venus and Rome, demanding his opinion of the plan. The architect suggested alterations in the structure—and as to the statues, answered, “they had been made too large in proportion to the height of the *cell*, insomuch,” added Apollodorus ironically, “*that if the goddess should wish to be lifted up, and go forth from the temple, she could not accomplish her desire.*” This reply enraging Hadrian, he commanded Apollodorus to be put to death instantly.—DION. i.—C.

It is hazardous to criticise the talents of a tyrant, but Hadrian, who boasted in his passion for the arts, should have had more

Arch of Titus.—At the western angle of the enclosure that stood around the above described temple of Venus and Rome, there exists, in a great part preserved, the triumphal arch raised in honour of Titus, the son of Vespasian, by the Roman senate and people, as is proved by the following inscription placed on the southern front :—

SENATUS. POPULUSQUE. ROMANUS.

DIVO. TITO. DIVI. VESPASIANI. F.

VESPASIANO. AUGUSTO.

This arch,* it is evident, was raised under the government of Domitian, to preserve the remembrance of the victory gained by Titus over the Jews. It is situated on the highest part of the Via Sacra, called for this reason by the ancients the Summa Sacra Via. Its remains are particularly admired for the excellence of the sculpture of its decorative parts, which are readily distinguished from those added of late years in Tiburtine stone, instead of marble, with which the monument was built.

respect for the opinion of a brother artist than he appears to have evinced.—W.

* The following other inscription relating to the same arch, and preserved by Faunus and Panvinus, existed on the northern side of the arch.

IMP. TITO. CAESARI. DIVI. VESPASIANI. F.

VESPASIANO. AVG. PONTIFICI. MAXIMO.

TRIB. POT. X. IMP. XVII. COS. VIII. P. P.

PRINCIPI. SVO. S.P.Q.R.

QVOD. PRAECEPTIS. PATRIS. CONSILIISQVE. ET

AVSPICIS. GENTEM. IVDAEORVM. DOMVIT. ET

VRBEM. HIEROSOLYMAM. OMNIBVS. ANTE. SE

DVCIBVS. REGIBVS. GENTIBVSQVE. AVT. FRVSTRA

PETITAM. AVT. OMNINO. INTENTATAM. DELEVIT.

The High-market or Forum of Cupid.—Opposite the north side of the same Temple of Venus and Rome there are sundry remains of arches known to have belonged to a building which was cut through in some parts in the construction of the neighbouring temple. This building seems to us to have been the High-market which, with the Forum of Cupid, is proved by the derivation of the name to have been the same building, situated near the Via Sacra in an elevated position, as the appellation of *high* given by Varro to this market makes it evident. This position, precisely before the construction of the temple, was near the Via Sacra at an elevated spot; and as before this building there probably stood some piazza it was also distinguished by the ancients under the name of Forum.

Basilica of Constantine.—In the large ruin of an ancient building known under the name of Temple of Peace, and which exists at the beginning of the descent of the Via Sacra, near the above named Temple of Venus and Rome, Professor Nibby has been the first to recognize the Constantine Basilica, registered in this region, after the Via Sacra, by Rufus, Victor, and the Notitia. I find it reasonable to follow this opinion, first, because this edifice approaches in its construction much more to a basilica than to a temple; and, in fact, Palladio, in the drawings he made of this monument, when it was far less ruined, did not represent merely at hazard four corridors on the sides, which rising to the half of the edifice, formed a second order of porticoes, as it was customary with the ancients in the basilicas; and these are seen indicated by the

double row of arches that remain, and by the joints preserved in the external walls. This opinion is further confirmed in observing that the style of its architecture greatly resembles that of the works made about the same epoch of Maxentius, in which it is supposed, from what is related by Aurelius Victor, that this basilica was built, and in particular from being conformable to the style seen to have been followed in the construction of the great *thermæ* of Diocletian, which were built a very few years before. In further confirmation of this opinion it is asserted, that among the ruins of this edifice some medals of Maxentius have been found. The front of this basilica was evidently turned at its first construction towards the Temple of Venus and Rome, and touched on a way that diverged from the Via Sacra. Thus, when it was dedicated by the senate to the Emperor Flavius Constantine in memory of his deeds, or when it was converted into a Christian temple, the principal front was placed on the side towards the Via Sacra, and on this occasion the small portico was added which was found to have been formed of four porphyry columns, and the *apsis* was also added on the opposite side in front of this second entrance. This building was also known to have been built on the ground occupied before by various private houses; and in a subterranean part, under the lateral nave the best preserved, are still seen the remains of an anterior solid building.

Arched portico.—The ancient way which, branching off from the Via Sacra, passed before the first front of the above named basilica, soon met the rising ground

on which was situated the High-market ; from the indications I have been able to recognize, and from what Piranesi states was found in the excavations made in his time, it seems that this may have communicated at that spot with another way, situated on the opposite side of the above-named elevation, by means of an arched way, and that along the latter stood the portico named the *arched portico*, from having been evidently covered with an arch, which is registered in this region by Rufus and Victor. This same way, before reaching the said passage, seems further to have turned also along the right side of the Temple of Venus and Rome, and to have risen to the upper ground occupied by the High-market.

Temple of Remus.—Continuing the descent of the Via Sacra, after the basilica just described, there is a round edifice now used as a vestibule to the church of S. Cosimo and Damian ; and this edifice is known by tradition as the Temple of Remus, registered by Rufus and Victor amongst the first edifices of this region. This temple was also called that of Romulus by Anastasius, in speaking of the construction of this church by Pope Felix IV.

Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.—After the Temple of Remus is the one which, from the following inscription engraved on the front, is known to have been dedicated to Antoninus and his wife Faustina by a decree of the senate.

DIVO . ANTONINO . ET .

DIVÆ . FAUSTINÆ . EX. S.C.

Of this temple there remain the columns of the

portico, with a part of the walls that formed the cella, and by the excavations lately made it is known that the temple was raised on a high basement. Around it there was an enclosure decorated with arches and columns, the remains of which were discovered and destroyed at the time of Palladio, as he himself declares in his description of this temple.

Basilica of Paulus Emilius.—Of the two basilicæ that Paulus Emilius erected, in part with the money he received from Cæsar, in order that he should not oppose his designs; one is registered by the Regionaries in this region, the other in the eighth region. The former, built with ancient columns, is said by Cicero to have been in the middle of the Forum, and this seems to have been the one considered as having formed part of the eighth region; while the second, built throughout with great magnificence, seems to have been also in the Forum, but on the part situated towards the above-named Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, near its limits with the eighth region. To this basilica, however, I do not think should be attributed, as is generally done, the fragment of the ancient Capitoline map, xxiv, in which is represented an apsis with a part of the foundations of a basilica, as it is not possible to adapt to this locality what has there been represented; and also because to this situation did not belong the other small fragment on which is written *Emili*, marked xxi, which was added subsequently, as will be better shewn in the eighth region.

Forum Transitorium.—There still exists, at a place called the Colonnacce, a small part of the enclosure that

stood round the Forum built by Domitian, and afterwards called Nerva, from the emperor of that name.* Under the pontificate of Paul V. the portico was demolished which had remained of the temple situated in the middle of this Forum, on the *façade* of which was the following inscription relative to the Emperor Nerva :—

IMP. NERVA. CAES. AVG. PONT. MAX.

TRIB. POT. II. IMP. II. PROCOS.

This temple is supposed to have been the one dedicated to Minerva, or Pallas, that Aurelius Victor places in this Forum, for which reason it was also called the Palladium Forum. The name of Pervium or Transitorium had also been given to it, as it served as a passage. Palladio, who saw greater remains of it, could conceive its entire structure, as is proved by the designs he left, from which it clearly appears that the above ruins could not form part of the same edifice, that which existed at the Arco de' Pantani, as some topographers have pretended to affirm. In a fragment of the ancient map of Rome, marked XIX, I found the part of this Forum represented that stood near the Temple of Nerva, with the indication of the place that served as a passage. It seems, therefore, that it may be inferred from the long form of this Forum, that it had been built in the space occupied by a large part of some ancient way which was also called a Forum, as is

“Plurima et amplissima opera incendio absumta restituit : in queis et capitolium, quod rursus arserat : sed omnia sub titulo tantum suo, ac sine ulla pristini auctoris memoria. Novam autem excitavit ædem in capitolio *Custodi Jovi*, et *forum* quod nunc *Nervæ* vocatur.”—SÜETONIUS *in Domitiano*, v.

proved by the denomination of Transitorium it had preserved, from this place having continued to remain a passage. In this Forum stood, even before Domitian had surrounded it with a fine enclosure, the small Temple of Janus Quadrifons. And this small temple is proved by some verses of Martial,* to have had in this locality its four fronts turned to as many Fori.

Temple of Peace.†—The celebrated Temple of Peace, built by Vespasian near the Roman Forum, as related in his life written by Suetonius, in which he afterwards placed all the interesting objects he had collected, and the golden vases taken from the Temple of Jerusalem, was also near the above-named “Forum Palladium,” as may be inferred from the verses of Martial, which indicated the place where his book was sold.‡ In the vicinity of the two Fori above mentioned, I find no spot fitter to place this temple, than the one corresponding to the southern side of the said Forum Palladium, and behind the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, at

* “Pervius exiguos habitabas ante Penates,
Plurima qua medium Roma terebat iter.
Nunc tua Cæsareis cinguntur limina donis,
Et fora tot numeras, Jane, quot ora geris.”

MARTIAL, x. 28.

† “Ne tamen ignores ubi sim venalis, et erres,
Urbe vagus tota ; me duce certus eris.
Libertum docti Lucensis quære secundum
Limina post pacis, Palladiumque forum.”

MARTIAL, i. 2.

‡ This temple must have been one of the principal edifices of Rome ; since it was built by Vespasian with much magnificence by the riches he had acquired from the destruction of the kingdom of the Jews. It was adorned by the choicest pictures and works of art. It was not rebuilt, however, after the fire which

which precise spot there still exists a remnant of ancient wall of solid construction, with square stones, which, being in the same direction as the enclosure of the Forum Palladium, may, with evident probability, be considered as having belonged to the posterior part of the *cella* of this temple. And as, according to what has been observed above, to each of the four fronts of the little Temple of Janus, situated in the Forum Transitorium, must have corresponded a Forum, and as it is proved by the description of Giuseppe Flavio that the temple was enclosed by a wall, and as it is known by the works of Ammianus Marcellinus and Procopius, that this enclosure was also called a Forum, we are enabled to confirm the position of this temple with its enclosure, or Forum, at this spot; and, in fact, to the southern front of the said Temple of Janus, unless this edifice were placed in this position, there would have been wanting a corresponding Forum to complete, with the Roman and Palladium Fori and with that of Cæsar, the entire indicated circuit. On the two sides of the Temple of Peace there seem to have been placed, on one the library in which the *literati* held their meetings, and on the other a place where private individuals partially consumed it in the reign of Commodus. To it belonged that pedestal found in 1547, near the arch of Septimius Severus, on which exists the following inscription:—

PACI . ÆTERNÆ

DOMUS

IMP. VESPASIANI

CÆSARIS . AUG.

LIBERORUMQ. EIVS.

SACRUM

TRIB. JVC. IVNIOR.—*Canina.*

deposited their riches. On the space occupied by one of these sides, the church of St. Cosimo and Damian seems to have been built, as it evidently stands on ancient foundations.

Temple of Tellus.—By some passages in the Acts of the Martyrs, it is proved that the Temple of Tellus stood before that of Pallas, which was in the Forum Transitorium. As, however, in the front part of the Temple of Pallas stood the Forum and little Temple of Janus, that of Tellus must have been situated on the opposite side towards the church of S. Quirico, which seems to be identical with the site where stood the church of S. Salvatore, denominated in Tellure, as may be ascertained from the map of Rome, by Bufalini. As it is also stated by Palladio, that behind the Temple of Pallas there was a curvilinear wall, of which some traces remain, and as it is also marked on the above-named fragment of the Capitoline map which I recognised as belonging to the same temple, I am of opinion that a kind of apsis formed part of the enclosure that surrounded the temple by a portico, as indicated in the said fragment; and this apsis could not belong to the cella of the temple, as has been believed, since by this place must have passed the way that came from the Forum Transitorium and the one that ran along the enclosure of the Forum of Augustus. It does not appear that this temple could have had the round form assigned to it, on account of its having been dedicated to Tellus or to the Earth, since it served occasionally, like that of the Temple of Concord, for the meetings of the senate, to which the circular form was not well

adapted, and, besides, the Temples of the Sun and Moon, which stood near to it, were not of a round form, which would have been equally suitable for these temples also.

Temples of the Sun and Moon.—The vicinity of the Temples of the Sun and Moon to the Temple of Tellus is deduced, first, from their being registered after each other by Rufus, and, secondly, from the fragment of the ancient map of Rome, marked xxii., on which is inscribed a part of the indication of the place where the Temple of Tellus was situated, adjoining on the map the plan of two temples united by means of three arches, which being in this position, could only be, most probably, the above dedicated to the Sun and Moon. In placing what is represented on the ancient fragment in this locality, it is found, that to the cella of one of these temples belonged the walls built with square stones that support the tower called Dei Conti. In some of the excavations made of late years hereabouts, there were found various ruins of architectural structures that must have belonged to the above-mentioned temples. It is to be observed, that along the wall enclosing the Forum Transitorium, there stood a portico formed of columns, as is denoted by the above-named fragment; and from this it is supposed that the indication in Tellure, marked on the fragment, did not relate to the temple, but to the place where it was situated, and for this reason cannot be attributed to either of the two temples designated in the said fragment, whilst the temple of Tellus must have been situated more towards the hill.

House of Pompey and Vicus Sceleratus.—Near the locality above described, towards the Flavian Amphi-

theatre, was situated the well-known part of the town called by the ancients, *Carinæ*, in which, as stated by Suetonius, stood the house of Pompey,* registered in this region by Rufus and Victor immediately after the *Carinæ*. Of this house (which is proved by the writings of Dion and Capitolinus, to have subsequently belonged to Mark Antony and to the elder Gordian)† the ruins of ancient substructions existing at the base of the *Esquiline* before they join the remains of the *Neronian* house, seem to have formed part, the direction of these ruins corresponds with those beneath the Baths of Titus. By the same place above described, called in *Tellure*, passed the ancient way which, proceeding from the *Ro-*

* From the following inscription, it is sought to be established that the street was near to the Temple of *Fortuna Seja*, erected by *Servius Tullius*, and enclosed afterwards by *Nero* in his golden house.

GERMANICO . CAESARE
C. FONTEIO . CAPITONE . COS.

KAL . IVN.

SEIAE . FORTVNAE . AVG.

SACR.

SEX . FONTEIVS . C. L. TROPHIMVS

CN. POMPEIVS . CN. L. NICEPHORVS

MAG. VICI

SANDALARI . REG. IIII.

ANNI . XVIII. D.D.

The classical scholar will perceive we are in regions of the ancient city, familiar to his memory from the pages of Horace and other Latin poets. In a brief space we have passed over districts which might engage the attention of the diligent traveller profitably for weeks.—W.

† “The family of Gordianus was one of the most illustrious of the Roman senate. On the father’s side he was descended from the Gracchi, on his mother’s from the Emperor Trajan. The palace in Rome, formerly inhabited by the great Pompey in *Carinis*, had been during several generations in the possession of Gordian’s family.” Gibbon.—W.

man Forum through the space occupied by the Forum Transitorium, reached the Vicus Cispius, at the end of which, turning to the right by the Clivus Virbius, Tullia drove her chariot over the dead body of her father, Servius; and from this atrocious act this place was called the *Vicus Sceleratus*. The same locality, under the name of Vicus Sceleratus, is registered in this region by Rufus, and it appears to have been nearly in the situation of the modern *Via della Madonna dei Monti*, whence, turning to the right, it must have met the Clivus Virbius, by which it went up to the part of the Esquiline called Cispius, where the house of Servius was situated.

Suburra. — In the plain comprised in this region, placed under the part of the Esquiline on which is the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, there is a place called the Suburra, which seems to have preserved the position of the ancient locality called by the same name,* which formed part of the first of the four regions determined by Servius, and is registered in this region by the Notitiæ and by Victor. Nardini, seeing it to have been

* *Suburra*. — We all remember the repeated mention in the classics of this celebrated noisy street of old Rome. Thus in Juvenal,

“Ego vel Prochytam præpono *Suburræ*.”

In Horace, Ep. v., “*Suburrane canes* :” it was vicus frequentissimus (inter Esquilias et Viminalem), in quo habitabant meretrices, et “nequitiae suæ officinam habebant.” Hence the allusion in Persius.

“Cum blandi comites, totaque impune *Suburra*,

Permisit sparsisse oculos jam candidus umbo.”

In the Epigram of Martial, L. 6, 66.

“Famæ non nimium bonæ puellam

Quales in media sedent *Suburra*

Vendebat modo præco Gellianus,” &c.

registered in the second region according to Rufus, has endeavoured to demonstrate a change in its position, but this it does not appear possible to reconcile well with other circumstances peculiar to this locality, and, as it is variously registered in different positions by the Regionaries, it was probably situated on the confines of the two above-named regions. On the marbles also of the ancient map of Rome the indication of the Suburra* is marked on a fragment, XVIII, with part of a building composed of a peristyle of columns which must have belonged to some edifice situated in this locality, but it is not possible to determine the precise use to which it was appropriated.

Vicus Sandalarius. — In another fragment of the same ancient map of Rome, marked LII, is engraved a part of the Vicus Sandalarius, which is registered by Rufus and by Victor, together with an Apollo marked with its name, but in what part of the region this street was placed is not well known. Yet, from the information derived from the locality occupied by this region, and from what is seen traced on the same fragment, it may be decided that the above-named street extended to the middle of the part of the region situated between the Esquiline and the Quirinal, near the spot occupied by the Temple of Fortuna Seja, marked in an inscription relating to the said street, with all the houses traced on the same fragment ; for this reason the above-named temple is registered by Rufus in the second Esquiline region.

Suetonius, in his "Life of Cæsar," tells us that "Habitavit primo in *Suburra* modicis ædibus : post autem pontificatum maximum, in *Sacra Via* domo publica." C. 46.—W.

REGION V.

THE ESQUILINE.

1. Temple of Jupiter Viminus. Temple of Venus Erycina.—Pretorian Camp, Viminal Field (in the book, not in the margin of Canina's map).—2. Baths of Olympia. (Baths of Novatus and house of Pudens, in book, not in map).—3. Bath of Agrippina. (Palace of Servius Tullius, in book, not in map).—4. Temple of Sylvanus.—5. Temple of Juno Lucina.—6. Market.—7. Arch of Gallienus.—8. Camp of Misenati, in map, not in book.—9. Reservoirs of the Julian Fountain.—10. Sepulchre unknown.—11. Sepulchre of the Arunzi.—12. Temple of Minerva Medica.—13. Sessorium (Basilica Liciniana, in book, not in map).—14. Amphitheatre of the Camp (differently placed in the book).—15. Reservoirs of Water.—16. Claudian Aqueduct, and that called New Anio. Tomb of Eurysaces (not in the map). Temple of Ancient Hope (not in the map).—17. Aqueduct of the Marcian, Tepulan, and Julian Waters.—18. Aqueduct of the New Anio, and Appian Water. Baths of Helena (in book, not in map). Circus named Varianus (in book, not in map).—19. The Street Sandalarius, on the map of contents, Region V. but described in the last paragraph by Canina in Region IV.

THE fifth region, called the Esquiline, from the hill on which it was in part situated, extended from the Viminal hill and from the summit of the Esquiline called by the ancients Cispius, to the enclosure of the eastern part of the walls of Aurelian. It is proper, however, to observe that, in the circumference marked by the Regionaries of 15 or 16,000 feet, several edifices could not be comprised that were situated at some

distance from the above-named locality, and which were registered in the catalogues of the Regionaries, either by posterior additions, or because they came within the jurisdiction of this region.

Temple of Jupiter Viminæus.—Beginning the examination of the buildings that were on the part of the region placed on the Viminal, as the one nearest to the antecedent region, the first is the temple, or altar of the Viminæan Jove, which is registered by Rufus before any other edifice, and this is inferred from Festus, in explaining the word Viminal, to have been towards the gate that derived its name from the said hill, on which it was situated, or on that part of the hill which is nearest to the *thermæ* of Diocletian. As above the ancient church of S. Pudenziana a small round edifice, with some antique statues, was found, under the pontificate of Sixtus V., it may be decided, to a certainty, that this temple was situated at that spot.

Temple of Venus Erycina.—Towards the above-named spot, but beyond the mound of Servius, must have been the Temple of Venus Erycina, as it is registered by the Regionaries after the Temple of the Viminæan Jove, and this Temple of Venus must have been out of the Porta Collina, as stated by Livy* and Ovid, so that it was necessarily between the *agger* of Servius and the wall of Aurelian. If, however, it was situated very

* The references to Livy are incorrectly given by Canina; the passages which indicate the situation of the temple of Venus Erycina are the following:—

“Nam ita abundavit Tiberis, ut ludi Apollinares, circo inundato, extra *Portam Collinam ad ædem Erycinæ Veneris* parati sint.”
LIVY, xxx. 38.

near the said gate, it must have been one of the edifices that belonged to the region only for the jurisdiction.

Castrum Prætorium.—It is only for the purpose of jurisdiction that to this region may be assigned, though

And again, in lib. xl. 34, Livy records

“Ædes duæ eo anno dedicatæ sunt : una Veneris Erycinæ ad portam Collinam : dedicavit L. Porcius L. F. Licinius duumvir.”

This was A. U. C. 571, as Strabo tells us.

There was another temple of Venus (E.) on the Capitoline Hill, dedicated A. U. C. 537, and the title *Erycina* was from *Eryx*, a mountain of Sicily, upon which (as Strabo also informs us) there was a splendid Temple to Venus, attributed to Æneas and the Trojans. The allusion to this subject by Ovid is known to scholars :—

“Templa frequentari Collinæ proxima portæ
Nunc decet : a Siculo nomina colle tenent.
Utque Syracusas Arethusidas abstulit armis
Claudius, et bello te quoque cepit, Eryx ;
Carmine vivacis Venus est translata Sibyllæ,” &c.

OVID, *Fasti* iv.

Neapolis amusingly exclaims on this passage—

“Pace tuâ dicam, mi Ovidi, *hallucinaris* !”

and accuses his poet of having committed two blunders, one in confounding the two temples of Venus Erycina at Rome, and the other in making the building of a temple depend on an occurrence which did not take place till after it was built ! Others, however, defend him ; critics must settle the point amongst them.—W.

Canina in a note observes, “This proximity to the Porta Collina, indicated by Livy to have been the place where the Apollinarian games were prepared, fixes the situation of the temple between the mound of Servius (in the southern extremity of which was the Porta Collina and the enclosure of the walls of Aurelian), and perhaps at the point of separation of the Via Salara and Via Nomentana, which issued from the same gate. Strabo has fixed this temple in the same locality. From the same writer we learn that this temple was surrounded by a portico, and that the entire edifice was of surprising beauty. In like manner, outside the Porta Collina we know, as recorded by Livy and Cicero, the Temple of Hercules and the Temple of Honour were placed, although we cannot ascertain their exact situation.”

it is not registered in the Regionaries catalogues, the Prætorian camp, established by Sejanus, under the empire of Tiberius, of which a great part still remains, in the enclosure behind the Diocletian baths, built of a good brickwork, and subsequently adapted to the use of the city walls. Around this enclosure were, evidently, disposed the quarters of those prætorians deputed to guard the camp, as some traces are seen in the internal part of the wall that remains. In the middle of the eastern side was probably placed the temple indicated in an antique medal representing this camp. These quarters have the form of the camps that were usually pitched by the Roman soldiers during their campaigns, and must have been distributed in as many divisions as there were prætorian cohorts, of which the number has been calculated as far as sixteen, and must have contained distinct habitations for the tribunes and the prefect, with all the requisites for soldiers' quarters, as particularly described by Polybius and by Iginus. Two of the principal gates still exist, though closed, on both sides of the enclosure, and are preserved entire. There must have been similar gates, both on the side turned towards the city, which side is now entirely destroyed, and on the side towards the east.*

* On a tube of lead that introduced water into these quarters was found the following inscription, which proves it to have been that conduit made by Marcus Opellius Macrinus, who from being prefect of the prætorian guard became emperor :—

IMP . CAES . M . OPELLI . SEVERI . MACRINI . AVG.

M . OPELLI . SEVERI . DIADVMENIANI . CAES . PRIN . IV.

CASTRIS . PRAETORI

TERENTIVS . CASSANDER . FECIT.—*Canina.*

Campus Viminalis.—At a short distance from the above quarters, towards the place where the Viminal gate stood, must have been the Campus Viminalis, which the Regionaries agree in placing under the mound, and, for this reason, between the spot where the mound is known to have been situated and the actual city walls. It appears, also, that it was in this very field that Sylla quartered his army, when he came to Rome to oppose the faction of Marius.

The Olympiad Baths.—On the southern part of the Viminal hill, now occupied by the church of S. Lorenzo, in Panisperna, topographers usually place the Olympiad baths, in consequence of inscriptions found there and of what is known of the acts of S. Lorenzo. In fact, there still exist various remains of an ancient building, and a greater number were marked by Bufalini in his map of Rome, and these are seen cut through to make the road that leads direct to S. Maria Maggiore. Here, also, as related by Flaminius Vacca, was found a large arch under the church, with others near it, placed over each other, and adorned with grotesque figures and other similar ornaments,* which belonged perhaps to these baths.

* The inscription respecting the Olympiad baths, translated by Grutero, is conceived in the following terms:—

PERPERNIE . HELPIDI

CONIVGI . OPTIMAE

PIISSIMAE

REX . AEMILIVS

MVRINVS

PERMISSV . ATHICTI

AMICI

L . CLOCLIAS . F.—*Canina.*

Baths of Novatus and House of Pudens.—Adjoining the baths above described, at the spot occupied by the church and monastery of S. Pudenziana, where there are slight remains of an ancient edifice, many topographers place the *thermæ* of Novatus, the brother of S. Pudenziana and S. Prassede; but Nardini and Cassio are of opinion that they were under the church of S. Prassede; since, where the church of S. Pudenziana stands they place the house of Pudens, a Roman senator. These *thermæ* seem not to have been large, as they are not registered in the Regionaries' catalogues.

Bath of Agrippina. — The Bath of Agrippina, registered by Rufus and by Victor, one after the other, before the Olympiad *thermæ* above described, is known to have been under the Viminal, in the valley situated between this hill and the Quirinal, both from some statues of Bacchus found there, at the foot of which was an inscription, stating that they had been placed in this bath, and from sundry *terra cotta* and lead pipes existing there, which are supposed to have belonged to this edifice. On a stone of the ancient map of Rome, so often mentioned, marked xv, a part of this bath is represented; this part does not belong to the small round edifice engraved on it, which presents more the form of some altar raised on steps, than that of an edifice, but rather of the other building designed beside it, which, according to the locality represented in this situation, was at the back of the large substruction existing on the western side of the Viminal, built with brick and reticulated work of the first style.

Temple of Sylvanus.—From some marbles found in the same valley, situated between the Viminal and the Quirinal, and the passage of an ancient testament of Favonius Jocondus, it is proved that here stood the Temple of Sylvanus registered by the Regionaries in this region; and, by another inscription, also found in this vicinity, it is proved that the said temple had a portico round it, built by Lucius Vallius Solon, and that it was dedicated under the consulate of Piso and Bolanus.*

The letter M, engraved on the above-mentioned fragment of the Capitoline marbles, probably formed part of the indication of this temple; and thus it seems that, in this locality, it was situated near the Bath of Agrippina, and that the columns marked on the said marble belonged to the portico above named, that was built around the temple.

Palace of Servius.—On the summit of the Esquiline, called by the ancients “Cispius,” which is situated between the Viminal and the other summit of the Esquiline, called by the ancients “Oppius,” there exist some remains of ancient substructions that belonged to some edifice situated in the inferior part of this locality, and probably to the house of the younger Pliny, which was near the *suburra*, as he himself says in the last letter of

* The following inscription refers to a portico of this temple:

SILVANO . SANCTO
LVCIVS . VALLIVS . SOLON
PORTICVM . EX . VOTO . FECIT
DEDICAVIT . KAL . APRILIBVS
PISONE . ET . BOLANO . COS.—*Canina.*

the third book. On the highest part of this spot may, it seems, be placed the house or palace of Servius Tullius, as registered by the Regionaries, to which the Clivus Virbius led, as has been stated in the preceding region when mentioning the Vicus Sceleratus. Beneath this position the Vicus Patrizius was evidently situated. It was inhabited by the Patricians at the period of the reign of Servius, agreeably to the explanation given by Festus of this denomination. In the ancient Capitoline map there is a small fragment, marked xxii, on which this street is engraved, and it must have corresponded to the spot occupied by the modern Via di S. Pudenziana.

Temple of Juno Lucina.—On the same summit of the Esquiline, and in the court-yard of a house situated along the modern Via di Santa Maria Maggiore, exists the remnant of an ancient wall, built with square stones, that seems to have belonged to the Temple of Juno Lucina, which, together with its wood, is designated by Ovid* as being at this place. This temple being registered by the Regionaries as existing at their time,

* “Monte sub Esquilio multis inciduus annis
Junonis magnæ nomine lucus erat.
Huc ubi venerunt ; pariter nuptæque virique
Suppliciter posito procubuère genu.”

OVID, *Fasti*, ii. 435.

In Murray's “Hand-book for Central Italy,” p. 351, the compiler, in describing the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, observes, “It is supposed to occupy the site of a temple of Juno Lucina, which probably supplied the columns of the interior.” Canina assigns an excellent reason to prove this supposition to be mistaken.—W.

that is towards the end of the fourth century, it seems that it could not be placed on the spot occupied by the church of S. Maria Maggiore, as this had been built by S. Liberius before that period; and for this reason the mosaic pavement found under the said church at the time of Benedict XIV. must have belonged to another edifice.

The Livianus Market.—This market, registered by the Regionaries amongst the edifices of this region, is proved to have been situated between the church of S. Vito and that of S. Maria Maggiore; first, by the denomination of the said church in early times, of S. Vito in Marcello, and also by what is stated by Anastasius, who asserts that the church of S. Maria Maggiore was built by Liberius, near this market. Opposite the church of S. Antonio, situated between the two above-named churches, there having been found many columns of grey marble on an ordinary marble pavement, it may be supposed that they belonged to this market, together with some slight remains of ancient walls still existing in the houses situated before the said church of S. Antonio. In a fragment of the Capitoline map, marked xvii, a part of this market is represented, and shews that it was composed of porticoes, with shops in the middle. This fragment could not have belonged to any other market than this, since that of Nero, erected on the Celian, was of a circular form as it has been elsewhere observed.

Arch of Gallienus.—Near the above-named church of S. Vito, there exists the middle part of the arch erected in honour of Gallienus, as is proved by the

inscription in two lines engraved on it.* This arch must evidently have been situated on the ancient way that passed through the Esquiline gate; and it is seen that there were two secondary apertures on the sides.

Basilica Liciniana.—Near the same church of S. Vito is said to have been the basilica named “Siciniana,” from Sicinius, or Sicininus in the opinion of some; and in that of others Liciniana, from Licinius Gallienus Augustus. Of this basilica there is an indication in the fragment of the ancient well-known map, relating to the quarters of the Misenati; and to this basilica are supposed to have belonged the remains of an ancient building that exist near the church of S. Antonio; but as these are situated rather too far from the spot indicated, it seems to me that they cannot be assigned to this basilica.

Reservoir of the Acqua Julia.—The ruins of the ancient monument situated at the end of the Via di Santa Maria Maggiore, and of the Via Santa Bibiana, commonly called the “Trophies of Marius,” from the two marble trophies that were placed between two niches, and are now on the Piazza of the Capitol, are generally admitted to have belonged to a reservoir subsequently adorned with the above-named trophies, probably in honour of the Dacian victories gained by the Emperor Trajan, as is proved by the resemblance of

* GALLIENO . CLEMENTISSIMO . PRINCIPI . CVIVS . INVICTA
VIRTUS . SOLA . PIETATE . SUPERATA . EST . ET . SALONIANÆ
SANCTISSIMÆ . AVG . M . AVRELIVS . VICTOR . DEDICATISSIMUS . NUMINI
MAJESTATISQUE . EORUM .

the arms observed on these trophies with those of the Dacians carved on the Trajan column. The water that issued from this reservoir is believed by Piranesi to have been the Julia water. He found the level of its duct placed near the Porta Maggiore, and prolonged to the Porta S. Lorenzo, to be the only one of the three waters brought over the same arches that corresponded to the line of this reservoir. Thus, if the trophies that were placed there, were really of the time of Trajan, it may be supposed that they were erected on the occasion of some repairs or additions made to this edifice under the above-named emperor. In the adjoining vineyard there still exist some remains of the aqueduct that brought the water to this reservoir; and other ruins of the same aqueduct were discovered in another vineyard, situated near the one above-named.

Sepulchre situated along the Prenestine Way.—The two modern roads that lead from the above-mentioned reservoir, one in the direction of the Prenestine, the other of the Tiburtine roads, seem to have preserved the direction of two other ancient roads that went out of the Esquiline gate. Along the first of these ways, it is related by Flaminus Vacca, that an octangular building was discovered, supposed by him to have been a fountain, within which several antique statues were found; and near this there was also found a remnant of the pavement of the ancient way that passed through it. Along the same road, on the side opposite the ruin above described, there is a large mass of a circular building, which, from its style and situation beyond the walls of

Servius, is generally supposed to be an ancient tomb, but it is not known to whom it belonged.

Tomb of the Arunzi.—Other tombs lining the same way, but much nearer the Prenestine gate, and differently formed in the shape of Colombaria, were discovered in the last century, with a part of the pavement of the ancient way that passed by that spot. One of these, situated to the right of the road, was recognized by the inscriptions found on it, as having belonged to the Arunzi family.

Minerva Medica.—Near the above-named tombs exists the well-known ruin of a round building commonly called the Temple of Minerva Medica. From its more ancient appellation of Galluzze, it was wished to ascribe it to the portico of Caius and Lucius, mentioned by Suetonius in the life of Augustus; but the style of building by no means corresponds to the time of Augustus, in which the said basilica was built, nor could a similar edifice be, with propriety, attached to it, as, in confirmation of his opinion, is stated by Bufalini in his map of Ancient Rome, since Sangallo, Sculio, Palladio, and so many other accurate observers of ancient objects, who were anterior to, or contemporary with, Bufalini, give no indications of it in the designs they have made of this monument. Besides, it is now agreed, from what is declared in the celebrated “ancira” inscription, that the basilica named by Augustus that of Caius and Lucius, was the same as the one commonly called the Julian, that was in the Roman Forum.

To what use this edifice was destined it is difficult to find out; but, admitting what is said by Anastasius

respecting the building by Pope Simplicius of the S. Bibiana church, in the vicinity of the Licinian palace, it may be admitted that this ruin formed some wall of the palace or house of the Emperor Licinius, annexed to the gardens called the Licinian from his name, or from some other of the Licini, who are known in the history of the ancients ; unless, however, it will not be believed that this building was altered into a hall destined to medical meetings, as was the opinion of Guatani, from the discovery of a statue representing the Goddess of Medicine ; and that for this reason the edifice was denominated “ Minerva Medica,” as it is registered by the Regionaries.*

Claudian Aqueduct and that called the Anio novus.—The enclosure of Aurelian near the Prenestine gate is entirely formed on the arches of the great aqueduct that conveyed the two distinct waters, one named the Claudian, the other the Anio novus ; and the above-named gate is opened in an arch of the large monument built to decorate and to widen the passage into the two roads that, at a little distance, separated, one in the direction of Præneste, called the Prenestina, the other of Labicum, called the Labicana ; thus, in the other arch, existed the Labicana gate beside the Prenestina of the above-named enclosure of Aurelian, while the two were

* The remaining portion of the shell of this temple has been propped up lately, and it is likely to last for some ages. It stands in the centre of what is now a vegetable garden, and has a venerable appearance. There are no habitations near it, and the locality befits a Roman ruin, which forms a favourite sketch for the artists who have succeeded the warriors and emperors who once dwelt in the eternal city.—W.

substituted for the Esquiline gate of the walls of Servius. The two above-mentioned gates, that were built within the two largest arches of the aqueduct, were lately pulled down in order to lay open the said monument, when, in a wall of the modern enclosure, the inscription in the note No. 1 was placed, written in honour of Arcadius and Honorius, on account of the re-establishment of the walls, towers, and gates, which was executed by Flavius Stilico.* Above this large monument still exist the channels of the waters mentioned, and on the two fronts are the very important inscriptions transcribed in succession in the note. The first was placed by Claudius both for the aqueduct known by his own name, and for the one called the Anio novus, in order to distinguish it from the other, equally derived from the Anio in anterior times. This inscription is engraved in four lines on the upper part of the aqueduct, where the channel of the water called the Anio novus passed.†

* S . P . Q . R

IMPP . CAESS . DD . NN . INVICTISSIMIS . PRINCIPIBUS . ARCADIO
ET . HONORIO . VICTORIBUS . AC . TRIUMPHATORIBUS . SEMPER . AVGG.
OB . INSTAURATOS . VRBI . AETERNAE . MUROS.

PORTAS . AC . TURRES . EGESTIS . IMMENSIS . RUDERIBUS . EX.
SVGGESTIONE . V . C.

ET . INLUSTRIS . COMITIS . ET . MAGISTRI . VTRIVSQ . MILITIAE . JL.
STILICONIS . AD . PERPETVITATEM . NOMINIS . EORVM.

SIMVLACRA . CONSTITVIT
CVRANTE . FL . MACROBIO . LONGINIANO . V . C . PRAEF . VRB . D . N .
M . Q . EORVM.

† TI . CLAVDIVS . DRVZI . F . CAISAR . AVGVSTVS . GERMANICVS . PONTIF.
MAXIM
TRIBVNICIA . POTESTATE . XII . COS . V . IMPERATOR . XXVII.
PATER PATRIÆ

On the middle part, corresponding to the channel, (of the *Acqua Claudia*,) exists, engraved in three lines, an inscription of *Vespasian*, denoting the re-establishment of the said waters.* And, on the inferior part of it, contained in four lines, is the inscription of *Titus* relating to the same object.† The continuation of this aqueduct is traced by the ruins that remain on each side. On the right, the *Neronian* arches branch off and follow on to the *Celian* near the church of *S. Giovanni e Paolo*, where the temple of *Claudius* stood, near which, according to *Frontinus*, the arches of this branch terminated. A part of the arches of the above-named aqueduct serves to support the channel of the *Acqua Alessandrina*, named *Felice*, which is conveyed on a level below the *Claudian* water; and for this reason the channel was cut through the mass of building sus-

AQVAS . CLAVDIVM . EX . FONTIBUS . QVI . VOCABANTVR . CAERVLEVS .

ET . CVRTIVS . A . MILLIARIO . XXXXV

ITEM . ANIENEM . NOVAM . A . MILLIAR . LXII . SVA . IMPENSA

IN VERBEM . PERDVCENDAS . CVRAVIT.

* IMP . CÆSAR . VESPASIANUS . AVGVST . PONTIF . MAX . TRIB .

COS . II . IMP . VI . COS . III . DESIG . P . P .

AQVAS . CVRTIAM . ET . CAERVLEAM . REDVCTAS . ——— A . DIVO

CLAVDIO . ET . POSTEA . INTERMISSAS . DILAPSASQVE

RER . ANNOS . NOVEM . SVV . IMPENSA . VRBI . RESTITVIT.

† IMP . T . CAESAR . DIVI . F . VESPASIANUS . AVGVSTVS . PONTIFEX .

MAXIMVS . TRIBVNIC .

POTESTATE . X . IMPERATOR . XVII . PATER . PATRIÆ . CENSOR . COS . VIII

AQVAS . CVRTIAM . ET . CAERVLEAM . PERDVCTAS . A . DIVO .

CLAVDIO . ET . POSTEA

A DIVO . VESPASIANO . PATRE . SVO . VRBI . RESTITVTAS . CVM . A .

CAPITE . AQVARVM . A . SOLO . VESTVSTATE . DILAPSAE . ESSENT NOVA .

FORMA . REDVCENDAS . SVA . IMPEVSA . CVRAVIT.

tained by the said arches to the injury of the whole monument.

Tomb of Marcus Virgilius Eurysaces.—In the demolition, in 1838, of the buttresses that were built at the back of the structure of the Claudian and *Anio novus* aqueducts and included in the walls of Aurelian of which they formed part, and also subsequently when the walls and gates were restored under Arcadius and Honorius, there was accidentally found within the tower, rebuilt in later times by the above-named restorers, and situated between the Prænestine and Labicana gates, a singular sepulchral monument which, by the following inscriptions existing on three of its sides partly preserved, is proved to have been the tomb of Marcus Virgilius Eurysaces, a baker, contractor of the *apparitori* (official servants of the state). On the side turned towards the aqueduct which has remained entire, the whole inscription is preserved—

EST . HOC . MONIMENTVM . MARCEI . VIRGILEI . EVRYSACIS
PISTORIS . REDEMPTORIS . APPARET.

On the south side that extended along the Via Labicana, there remains the imperfect inscription at the end of the ruined part of the monument, nor could it have been originally completed for want of space—

EST . HOC . MONIMENTVM . MARCI . VIRGILEI . EVRYSAC

On the north side of the above-mentioned ruined part, it is broken at the beginning, and even not finished at the end of the monument, viz. :—

. M . MARCEI . VIRGILEI . EVRYSACIS . PISTORIS . REDEMPTORIS .
APPARET

There have been great discussions on the meaning of

the word APPARET, but, considering that the inscription could not be properly supported by two verbs, it was deemed necessary to recognise in these letters an abbreviation of *apparetorum* for *apparitorum*, and thus it was explained that this was the monument of Marcus Virgilius Eurysaces, a baker, and contractor for the attendants who, by decree of the senate, were expressly assigned to the inspectors of water conduits, when they left Rome to inspect the aqueducts, which all branched off from this part of the town; and, as these persons thus employed must have been supplied with food at the expense of the public treasury, they found, on going out of Rome, the oven of the contractor who furnished them bread; of this oven traces have been found near this curious tomb. It may be supposed that the entire inscription, on the principal front of the same tomb, which is now completely destroyed, was—

EST . HOC . MONIMENTVM . MARCI . VIRGILI . EURYSACIS
PISTORIS . REDEMPTORIS . APPARETORUM.*

On the same front of the monument must have existed the other inscription, found amongst fragments belonging to its architectural parts; and in particular a bas-relief, on which are sculptured the figure of a man, and another of a woman, supposed to represent Eurysaces, with Atistia his wife, as is stated in the same inscription.†

On the freize also that crowns the monument, the

* This is the tomb of Marcus Virgilius Eurysaces, the baker, contractor for the pursuivants of the prætors.

† FVIT . ATISTIA . VXOR . MIHEI
FEMINA . OPITUMA . VEIXSIT

same bas-relief represents the grinding of corn, the flour paste, and the baking of bread, with the weight and sale thereof.

Temple called Speranza Vecchia (Ancient Hope).— It being stated five times by Frontinus that several aqueducts united at the place called *Spes Vetus*, it has been ascertained that this spot must have been identical with the area situated before the above-named Claudian and Anio Vetus aqueducts; and this is principally determined by the indication Frontinus gives of the place where the Neronian arches were detached from the said aqueduct, which occurred near the *Spes Vetus*, as, exactly on this site, it is known by the many ruins still existing the separation was effected. This place was so called from a temple dedicated to Hope, and to distinguish it from one subsequently built, it was named *Spes Vetus*, whilst, in the Regionaries' catalogues of the Seventh Region, the Temple *Novum Spei* is registered. This more ancient Temple of Hope must have been the same one near which the Consul Horatius gave battle to the Veientiaë in the year of Rome 277, as is attested by Dionysius, and the place where this battle happened was fixed by Dionysius, at a distance of *eight stadii* from the city. In fact, measuring the distance between the spot, near the arch of Gallienus where the Esquiline

QVOIVS . CORPORIS . RELIQUIAE

QVOD . SVPERANT . SVNT . IN

HOC . PANARIO.

This monument is surprisingly perfect, and is one of the most interesting in Rome. Canina's explanation proves Eurysaces was not a mere baker, as commonly said in the guide-books. He was, no doubt, a wealthy contractor of the State.—W.

gate must have stood, at the southern extremity of the mound of Servius then the limits of the city, and thus where the above-named large monument subsists, it will be found with little diversity to agree with the above-stated measure. From indications, supplied by Frontinus, it is further known that near the same *Spes Vetus*, were the *Torquati* and *Pallanziani* gardens, that, with little variation of names, were registered in the *Regionaries'* catalogues, and must have been situated towards the part that reached to the aqueducts of the *Appian*, *Julian*, *Tepulan*, and *Marcian* waters, where we have also designated the site of the *Licinian* gardens near the building now called *Minerva Medica*; while to the opposite side of the place, named *Spes Vetus*, is assigned the site of the *Variani* gardens, extending to the vicinity of the *Castrense* amphitheatre and to the circus formed in the adjoining valley, as stated by *Lampridius* (in the life of *Heliogabalus*), who says that races took place in these gardens. The above locality was also famous for a large enclosure or *vivarium*, said to have been built to keep the wild beasts reserved for the spectacles exhibited in the amphitheatres; because it is clearly stated by *Procopius* that the place of custody, called by the Romans a *Vivarium*, was situated under the city walls, and he adds that it was near the *Prænestine* gate. From these indications it may thus be determined that this *Vivarium* was situated in the long level area that extended to the *Via Labicana*, and to the walls of the city out of the above-named *Prænestine* gate.

Aqueduct of the Marcian, Tepulan, and Julian Waters.—At this spot the aqueducts of various other waters seem to have met, since beside the above described monument of the Claudian and Anio Novus aqueducts,* there exist the remains of three different channels, placed one over the other, on the same aqueduct. Of these three channels the lowest is known to have belonged to the Marcian water, the middle one to the Tepulan, and the upper one to the Julian, as they

* Solomon erected an aqueduct, it is said, for conveying water from the fountains near Bethlehem to Jerusalem. But it was in Rome the system of aqueducts reached perfection; they were brought thirty, forty, and sixty miles from the city, in one continued covered channel of stone, carried by arcades over the widest valleys, and by tunnels running through mountains. Pliny writes, "If we consider attentively the quantities of water brought into the city for the use of the public, for baths, for fishponds, for private houses, for artificial lakes, for gardens in the neighbourhood of the city, and for villas, if we look also at the works which have been constructed for forming a regular channel for the waters—arches raised up, mountains pierced with tunnels, and valleys filled up to a level—it must be acknowledged that there is nothing in the whole world more wonderful."

For 400 years after Rome was built, the Romans were content to drink the waters of the Tiber. Population increased, and the censor Appius Claudius was the first who made an aqueduct to convey the waters of distant springs into the city. About thirty-nine years after, M. Curius Dentatus brought in an additional supply from Tibur. These examples were followed by Papirius, Crassus, Agrippa, Marcius, and several of the emperors to Caracalla. The curator of the aqueducts was an important officer, and Frontinus, curator in the reign of Nerva, has left an account of them. In his time there were twenty aqueducts, the most remarkable being the Aqua Appia, the old and new Anio, the Aqua Martia, which conveyed also the Aqua Julia and the Aqua Tepula. From the ruins of the Aqua Martia, it must have been a superb structure. It ran nearly forty miles in a series of arcades.

are clearly described by Frontinus. The aqueduct following from this spot the line of Aurelian's walls, was prolonged to the Tiburtine gate, where there exists a monument nearly of the same style, and from this spot, according to Frontinus, it followed on towards the Viminal hill, where, being lowered, it passed underground, and afterwards rose up near the Viminal gate. The chief part, however, of the Julian water was brought to the Coelian hill by means of another aqueduct, which began at the spot called *Spes Vetus*, which, as has

The *Aqua Claudia*, begun by Nero and completed by Claudius, ran about the same distance ; but it formed a subterranean stream for thirty-six miles. It was supported on arcades for seven miles, being carried on as high a level as to supply all the hills of Rome. The remains of it were used by Pope Sixtus in the construction of his aqueduct, and, now supplying Rome with the most wholesome water, is called by the name of *Aqua Felice*. There were about 7000 arches of the *Aqua Martia*. From the above description we may conceive the astonishing labours of the ancient Romans, and also can understand the observations before quoted of Strabo, that whole rivers poured through the streets of Rome. As the Romans constructed their aqueducts almost in a perfect level in the line of the conduit, it has been supposed by some this was owing to their ignorance of the hydrostatic principle, that the fluid would rise to a level in the opposite side, to the original height of the fountain-head, whatever that might be. But it has been shewn the Romans were not ignorant of the principle stated, and remains of leaden pipes are said to have been found in the baths of Caracalla. The fact is, the Romans disliked lead, as infecting the water with unwholesome impregnations ; they were unacquainted with the use of cast iron, the employment of which in pipes has given to the moderns such advantages in conducting water into cities ; therefore the Romans constructed their aqueducts in the manner above described, which required vast expense, great skill, and patience. The prodigious remains of the Roman aqueducts excite the astonishment of every traveller.—W.

been said, was in that vicinity; and even a portion of the Aqua Marcia, by means of a channel, called Herculaneum, passing by the Coelian, was conveyed there to supply the wants of that hill. This private aqueduct terminated above the Capena gate. It is important to observe that on the front of these three channels' waters, existing at the S. Lorenzo or Tiburtine gate, there are three inscriptions relating to the said waters, which are given in the note for greater clearness, according to the epoch, and not according to the order, in which they were engraved. The most ancient, placed on the level of the channel of the Aqua Julia, shews that Augustus, in his nineteenth tribuneship, had re-established all the courses of these waters.*

The next inscription states that the Emperor Titus re-established the aqueduct of the Marcian water in his ninth tribunate.†

On the place where the frontispiece existed that decorated this monument, an inscription was afterwards engraved, stating that Antoninus Caracalla had restored the Marcian water, and had added a new spring, called from him Antoniniana.‡

* IMP . CAESAR . DIVI . JVLII . F. AVGUSTUS
PONTIFEX . MAXIMUS . COS . XII
TRIBVNIAE . POTEST . XIX . IMP . XIV
RIVOS . AQUARUM . OMNIUM . REFECIT.

† IMP . TITUS . CAESAR . DIVI . F. VESPASIANUS . AVG . PONTIF . MAX.
TRIBVNICIAE . POTEST . IX . IMP . XV . CENS . COS . VII . DESIGN . VIII
RIVOM . AQUAE . MARCIAE . VETVSTATE . DILAPSUM . REFECIT
ET . AQUAM . QUAE . IN . VSV . ESSE . DESIERAT . REDUXIT.

‡ IMP . CAES . M . AVRELIUS . ANTONINUS . PIUS . FELIX . AUG . MAXIM.
BRIT . MAXIMUS . PONTIFEX . MAXIMUS .

The Antoninian water, indicated in this last inscription, must have been the one brought expressly by Antoninus Caracalla for the use of his vast baths, also named Antoninianæ, and thus from the above-named aqueduct the private current must have branched off that conveyed the waters to those baths, passing over the arch of Drusus, described in the first region.

Aqueduct of the Anio Vetus and Appian Waters.—Near the spot where exists the truncated aqueduct of the three above described currents of water, and on the level of the soil is the aqueduct of another water, supposed, by its little elevation, to have belonged to the Anio Vetus. The aqueduct of this water, according to the same Frontinus, extended from the spot called Spes Vetus, to the vicinity of the Esquiline gate. At a depth of twenty-eight feet beneath the channel of the above-named water, Fabretti found, in the researches he made, the channel of the Appian water, the *first that was brought to Rome*, the level of which, according to Frontinus, was lower than that of the Anio Vetus.

Reservoirs of different waters.—Near the above described place, are sundry remains of ancient water reservoirs, which must have belonged to the above-named aqueducts, and these are found near the temple commonly called Minerva Medica, where the ancients had several villas or gardens.

AQUAM . MARCIAM . VARIIS . KASIBUS . IMPEDITAM . PVRGATO . FONTE
EXCIS . ET PERFORATIS .
MONTIBUS . RESTITVTA . FORMA . ADQUISITO . ETIAM . *fonte novo.*
ANTONINIANO.
IN . SACRAM . URBEM . SUAM . PERDUCENDUM . CVRABIT.

Thermæ of S. Helena.—Some ruins of a water reservoir situated near the arches of the Claudian aqueduct, with other few remains of walls standing there, are supposed to have belonged to the *thermæ* of S. Helena, from some inscriptions found there relative to these *thermæ*, and by the name of Heleniana given, in ancient times, to the neighbouring basilica of S. Croce in Gerusalemme.

Sessorium.—The ancient ruin which, in the form of an *apsis*, exists at the right of the church of Santa Croce, is said, by some topographers, to have belonged to a Temple of Venus and Cupid, a statue of Venus having been found there; but this circumstance is not a sufficient indication to enable us to recognise the said temple in this ruin. By others, it is more properly supposed to have formed part of the *sessorium* near which Constantine, according to what is written by Anastasius in his life of S. Silvester, built the above-named church, called also the *Basilica Sessoriana*. To what use this *sessorium* building was devoted is not well known, and the few ruins that remain are not sufficient to indicate its form. It is, however, to be observed, that the *Variani* gardens extending in this direction, as already stated, the said buildings must have belonged to these gardens before they were applied to the above-mentioned use. Flaminius Vacca has left a record that, near this spot, a part of an ancient spacious road was found that went from the Porta Maggiore to the basilica of S. John Lateran, probably following the line of arches of the Claudian aqueduct.

Castrense Amphitheatre.—On the opposite side of

the Santa Croce church there exist considerable remains of an amphitheatre, generally known as the *Castrense*, which is uniformly registered in this region by the Regionaries. This amphitheatre was included, in about two-thirds of its circumference, within the Aurelian walls. Thus, it is important to observe, respecting this amphitheatre, that, from its name of *Castrense*, it may be supposed to have belonged to the Prætorian camp, and that it was expressly destined to the exercises of Prætorians. This agrees with what is indicated by an ancient inscription found in the vicinity, namely, that the Vivarium above described (situated between the city walls and the Via Labicana out of the present Prænestine gate), was under the guard of the Prætorians,* as the place where it was formed extended to the vicinity of this amphitheatre; and, for this reason was conveniently situated, in order to make use of the wild beasts for the games celebrated in the theatre.

Circus Varianus.—In the valley below the above-

* The inscription relating to the *vivarium* put under the custody of the Prætorian guard, was in the following words:—

FRO . S . M . ANTONII . GORDIANI . PII
 FELICIS . AVG . ET . TRANQUILLINAE . SABI
 NAE . AVG . VENATORES . IMMUNES . CVM . CV
 STODE . VIVARI . PONT . VERVS . MIL . COH .
 VI . PRAE . CAMPANUS . VERAX . MIL . COH . VI
 PR . FVSCIUS . CRESCENTIO . ORD . CVSTOS
 VIVARI . COHH . PRAETT . ET . VRBE
 DIANA . AVG . D . S . EX V . P .
 DEDICATA . XII . KAL . NOV .
 IMP . D . N . GORDIANO . AVG . ET . POMPEIANO . C . S .

C.

named amphitheatre, it is evident, by the disposition of the ground, that it was occupied by an ancient circus, the erection of which is attributed to Heliogabalus and to Aurelian; but it may be believed, with greater probability, that it was comprised in the Variana gardens, in which Heliogabalus, according to what is related in his life by Lampridius, is known to have been exhibiting chariot races, when he was surprised by his soldiers, and was expecting, with anxiety, news of the death of Alexander Senecus.* At the above-named spot was, in fact, found an ancient obelisk, which must have decorated the *spina* of this circus, and was first transferred to the Barberini palace, thence to the Vatican gardens, and has been lately raised, though broken into two pieces, on the public walk of the Pinian hill.

* “In a magnificent temple raised on the Palatine mount, the sacrifices of the god Elagabalus were celebrated with every circumstance of cost and solemnity.”—GIBBON.

The infamous vices of Elagabalus were signally contrasted with the virtues and talents of Alexander, his successor; they were alike murdered—the common fate of Roman emperors.—W.

REGION VI.

ALTA SEMITA.

Circus of Flora (in book not on map).—1. Temple of Flora.—2. Temple of Quirinus.—3. Temple of Public Fortune.—4. Temple of Health.—5. The Old Capitol.—6. Baths of Constantine.—7. Temple of Serapis.—8. Temple of Apollo and Clathra.—9. Baths of Paulus.—Baths of Diocletian (described in book, but not on map).—Temple of Fortune (in book, not on map).—Circus of Sallust (in book, not on map).—10. Temple of the Sallustian Venus.—11. Portico of one thousand feet.—12. Sallustian Forum.—Gardens of Sallust (in book, not on map).—13 and 14. Reservoirs of Diocletian.

THE sixth region called Alta Semita from some small way placed on the top of the hill, occupied nearly the whole of the Quirinal, and a part of the one named the Orti, with the valley beneath that separates one hill from the other. This site verifies the circuit of about 15,600 feet prescribed to this region by the Regionaries.

Circus of Flora.—Entering into this region by the western side, the first place that presented itself was the Circus of Flora, registered amongst the first edifices of this region. The situation of this circus is recognized by every one as corresponding to the valley placed between the Viminal and the Collis Hortulorum, and precisely at the spot now occupied by the Piazza Barberini. The early topographers who described the

Roman antiquities, having seen some ruins which now serve as substructions to the northern side of the Barberini Palace, judged that they belonged to this circus, without however stating to what part of it they corresponded, or the form of the circus, which might have been deduced from these remains ; but having myself lately examined with much diligence these remains, to form a design of them, and finding that they had formed divers stories, I was able to ascertain that the steps for the spectators' seats led to certain galleries on the sides of the circus, as they are found to have existed in the theatres and amphitheatres, and even in the Circus Maximus, which will be described hereafter. It is, however, necessary to observe, that these substructions, while they served, like the part of the palace that was on the Palatine towards the said Circus Maximus, to enable the beholder to enjoy the spectacle that was taking place in the circus beneath, must also have been destined to another use. This circumstance is further proved by observing that under the courtyard of the Barberini Palace a very large Mosaic pavement was discovered ; and about the spot where the forest was, there were found chambers ornamented with marbles—things that suit an inhabited building: it may thus be supposed that the circus was united on this side to some extensive edifice. The circus must, therefore, have stood in the area beneath the said edifice, and was perhaps surrounded by some portico situated above the galleries. The form seems, however, to have differed in some respect from that of the other ancient circuses for the diversity of the spectacles

which it was customary to represent in it, and from the various names known to have been given to this place by ancient writers.

Temple of Flora.—That the circus abovementioned should have been near the temple of Flora, which is unanimously registered after it by the Regionaries, is generally asserted by all topographers, but it is not possible to ascertain the spot where it was situated. The most proper situation, however, seems to me to be that which corresponds to the middle of the southern side of the circus above the buildings situated on the plain now occupied by the Barberini Palace. In fact, placing the temple in this locality, it accords with what was written by Vitruvius respecting the vermilion-workers. He states that their shops were placed between the Temple of Flora, and that of Quirinus. It being ascertained from this passage that the Temple of Quirinus as will be seen hereafter, was situated on the Quirinal, at the spot now occupied by the buildings and gardens of the Noviciate of the Jesuits, and as several small shops were found in building the houses and palaces around the spot called the Quattro Fontane, which were supposed to have belonged to the above-named vermilion-workers, the inference drawn from this indication is that these shops being placed between the Temple of Quirinus and that of Flora, the latter temple must have stood precisely on the spot above-mentioned.

Temple of Quirinus.—The Temple of Quirinus it is unanimously agreed, was situated on the part of the Quirinal looking over the valley placed between this

hill and the Viminal, known by the ancients under the same name of Quirinal. On this spot, now in a great part occupied by the buildings and gardens of the Noviciate of the Jesuits, there exist some remnants of ancient substructions that probably served to support the piazza that was round the temple, in which piazza evidently was placed the sun-dial made by Papirius, which was the first ever made in Rome. The temple must have been turned towards the valley of Quirinus, and the ascent was probably by means of large steps. This temple, according to Vitruvius, was of the *diptera* form, and of the Doric order. Under the temple, and at the bottom of the valley where the church of S. Vitale now stands, the portico was probably built, also called Quirinus from its proximity to the temple, and this portico must have been of considerable size to have been able to contain the many persons who frequented it.*

Temple of Public Fortune.—Near the spot where the above temple stood, and in the times of Flaminius Vacca, was found a small round temple with columns of grey, or Africano marble.† This temple may be deter-

* The following lines of Martial allude to the position, and to the crowd of people who flocked to the portico of the temple of Quirinus :—

“ Vicini pete porticum Quirini,
Turbam non habet otiosiore
Pompeius, vel Agenoris puella,
Vel primæ Dominus levis Carinæ.”

MART. xi. 1.—W.

† That this little temple belonged to Fortuna Publica may be proved by the verses of Ovid :—

“ Postera cum cœlo motis Pallantias astris
Fulserit ; et niveos Luna levarit equos ;

mined by its situation to have been that of Public Fortune, which Rufus, while placing it in this region, situates on this hill.

Temple of Health.—The Temple of Health is proved by Varro, and by Livy, to have been situated near the above-named Temple of Quirinus; and as it was evidently placed near the gates called by its name Salutaris, and this latter being commonly ascribed to the slope of the hill near the rise to the *quattro fontane*, the situation of this temple may be fixed on the part of the hill now occupied by the papal palace of the Quirinal.

The Old Capitol.—On the same part of the Quirinal looking over the spot where the Circus of Flora was, must have stood the Old Capitol registered by Victor and the Notitia after the Temple of Flora. In this situation it was precisely in view of the Circus of Flora, and above the spot where the Pila Tiburtina stood, as mentioned in the verses of Martial.* The form of this temple must have nearly resembled that of the other temple that stood in the Capitol, to which it is supposed to have served as a model, but in a style of greater simplicity, having evidently been built at the time of Numa when he surrounded the Quirinal with walls.

Thermæ of Constantine.—The *thermæ* of Constan-

Qui dicet, quondam sacrata est colle Quirini
Hac Fortuna die Publica; verus erit.

OVID, *Fast.* iv. 373.—CANINA.

* “Sed Tiburtinæ sum proximus accola pilæ
Qua videt antiquum rustica Flora Jovem.”

MART. v. 23.

tine were situated on the site now occupied by the Rospigliosi palace, and many of the ruins were destroyed when, under the pontificate of Paul V., the modern edifice was erected. Amongst the ruins were found many valuable objects of sculpture, and particularly the statues of Constantine and of his sons, which confirm the locality of these *thermæ*. Before the destruction of these ruins they had been seen by Serlio and Palladio, who made designs that have come down to us. The plan of these *thermæ*, which is in the book of the antiquities of Serlio, who erroneously called them the *thermæ* of Titus, is less exact than the plan given by Palladio in the book of the Roman *thermæ*, published by Burlington. As there still exist some few remains of these *thermæ* in the subterranean parts of the Rospigliosi palace, I have been able to visit them, and to recognise their real disposition, in company with the Abbate Coppi, and by the permission of the Prince Rospigliosi. First, we found under the eastern gate of the said palace, and almost entire, the lower circuit of a large circular room, and of another octangular one divided in half by the modern walls, which rooms I recognized to be those of a similar figure designed on both sides of the *thermæ*, with little difference, by Palladio and by Serlio; then, under the southern part of the said palace, and towards the minor yard, we saw many other remains now forming cellars, and found that these remains belonged to the middle part of the *thermæ* with some variation in the forms as given by Serlio and by Palladio. These remains, being now mixed with modern constructions of various epochs, it becomes

very difficult to discern their precise disposition, but on examining them well, I was enabled to ascertain, by some walls built in a good style of reticulated work, that Constantine had made use of part of another building, anterior by many centuries, to erect his own *thermæ*. Around these, similar to other baths we have of the ancients, was an enclosure of buildings. In some gardens situated towards the Villa Aldobrandini, traces are still found of the middle part of this wall, which formed a large semi-circle, as was indicated by Palladio. The large niches designed by Serlio and by Palladio near the front of the Temple of the Sun, and in which were found the statues of the Nile, and of the Tiber now on the Capitol, also formed part of this enclosure. The two kinds of court-yards placed on the sides of the said temple, serving as an enlargement of the enclosure, formed a communication with the large steps that led to the plain of the seventh region. In the same enclosure, opposite the front of the said temple, must have been situated the two celebrated horses with their riders, said to be the work of Phidias and of Praxiteles, which now decorate the piazza called from them Monte Cavallo. On the spot now occupied by these horses, subsisted a rough mass of ancient wall that was destroyed at the time of Sixtus V, in order to place the obelisk with the said horses, which is supposed to have belonged to the same enclosure ; and this ruin is noted in the map of Bufalini, with that of these *thermæ*, but not correctly. It is to be observed, that by an ancient inscription quoted by nearly all writers on the topography of Ancient Rome, it appears that these *thermæ*

were restored by Petronius Perpenna Magnus Quadratianus, who was prefect of Rome in the fourth century.*

Temple of Serapis.—The Temple of Serapis, registered by all the Regionaries after that of Health, is proved to have been near S. Agata, by an inscription that existed there in past times which alluded to this temple.† Some remains of walls, built of Tiburtine stone, as related by Donati, considered by him as the ruins of the ten taverns of which Bufalini gave an indication in his map of Rome, seem to have belonged to this temple of Serapis.

Temple of Apollo and of Clathra.—As until the fifteenth century the denomination of Clathra was preserved to the part of the Quirinal turned towards the

* The following is the inscription given by Grutero :—

PETRONIVS . PERPENNA . MAGNVS . QVADRATIANVS . V. C.
 ET . IVL. PRAEF. VRB. CONSTANTINIANAS . THERMAS . LONGA.
 INCVRIA . ET . ABOLENDAE . CIVILIS . VEL POTIVS . FERALIS.
 CLADIS . VASTATIONE . VEHEMENTER . ADFLICTAS . ITAVT.
 ACNITIONEM . SVI . EX . OMNI . PARTE . PERDITA . DESPERATIONE.
 CVNCTIS . REPARATIONIS . ADFERRENT . DEPVSTATO . AB.
 AMPLISSIMO . ORDINE . PARVO . SVMPTV . QVANTVM PVBLICAE.
 PATIEBANTVR . ANGVSTIAE . AB . EXTREMO . VINDICAVIT . OCCASV . ET.
 PROVISIONE . LARGISSIMAM . IN.
 PRISTINAM . FACIEM . SPLENDOREMQUE . RESTITVIT.
 C.

† The following fragment of an inscription is given by Nardini :—

SERAPIDI . DEO
 M. AVRELIVS . ANTONINV . . .
 IFEX . MAX. TRIBVNIC . POT. X. . . .
 AEDEM.

C.

west, to this spot was assigned the Temple of Apollo and of Clathra,* the goddess of THE CANCELLI, marked in the catalogues of this region. The walls, which in this locality support the western part of the garden adjoining the papal palace, seem to have rested on ancient substructions that were under the base of this temple, as is in a certain degree indicated in Bufalini's map of Rome. As to the temple, from its being dedicated to two divinities, it must have been double, and probably planned like that of Venus and Rome, built by Hadrian.

Baths of Paulus.—The Baths of Paulus, registered

* *Temple of Apollo and Clathra.*—The Roman deities were of infinite number and variety ; every place, object, and department of work having its presiding god or goddess. Of this mysterious and apocryphal goddess, Clathra, I can find no mention in any classic author. She appears to have been a sort of female chancellor ! and is described as presiding over the Cancelli, or Clathri (Græc. κληθρα, or κλειθρα, a κλειω *claudio*), that is, balustrades, or lattices. So,

“Objectos caveæ valuit si frangere *Clathros*.”—HOR.

The Greek κυκλῖς (from the root above given) signifies, Cancelli, *porta cancellata*, and of this we are told “Peculiariter sic Athenis dicebantur *Cancelli* ejus loci, in quo senatus Judicabat.” If, then, the Ostiarii (or door-keepers) were so called, as those who took charge of the Ostium, the Cancellarius would be the officer who waited in the emperor's court (or presided) at the Cancelli, or grated door. And such responsible office, or headship over all such, may our goddess Clathra be supposed to have held. It is amusing in discussing this said word Cancelli and its uses, to note the different important words in modern language thence derived ; not only Chancel, as the part of a church separated from the nave or body, by the Cancelli or lattice-work ; but our august Lord Chancellor

by Rufus and Victor after the *thermæ* of Constantine, the site of which locality is preserved in the corrupt denomination of Magnanapoli, applied to the spot existing between the Trajan Forum and the Quirinal, seem to me to have been situated in continuation of the Trajan buildings placed behind the hill to support the earth, where, under the houses which are in the middle of the ascent of the Via Magnanapoli there still exist rooms with pavements of white and black mosaic. Of this building, which extended towards the hill, some other ruins were found in making, a few years ago, the large sewer that receives the Quirinal waters. On one of the rooms of this same building stands one of the three towers, raised by Boniface VIII, in this quarter. Here then appear to have been the

himself! who appears to have passed through some humiliating changes before he reached his present dignity. Originally and primarily, the Cancellarius being nothing more than the attendant or door-keeper, “*qui ad Cancellos assistit* ;” and great was the indignation and confusion which the Emperor Carinus caused in making one of these Cancellarii, Prefect of the city. Next, and in a different sense, Cancellarius was a kind of legal scribe, so designated from his position at the Cancelli of the Courts of Law ; and, finally, we have the Cancellarius, under the later emperors, as the chief scribe or secretary (*ἀρχιγραμματεὺς*, or *ὁ μέγας λογοθέτης*), who possessed high judicial powers and general superintendence over all the other officers of the emperors. His name, Cancellarius, was derived as before, because he sat, *intra Cancellos*,* and also from the same term otherwise applied, that is, a *cancellando*, or cancelling (*ab actis Cancellatim lineis dispungendo*) ; seeing it was a main part of the duty of the Cancellarius “*Principis scripta cancellare, si fuerint iniquæ : contra, si bene scripta, signaculo designare.*”—W.

* Qui intra secreta cancellorum septis clausa, res civiles tractat.

Baths of that Paulus who certainly was posterior to Trajan, and who built the baths named after him in those same Trajan buildings that were erected on the top of the hill behind the eastern part of the Trajan Forum, which belonged to the eighth region.

Thermæ of Diocletian.—The longest building that now remains in the region is undoubtedly the one that constitutes the immense thermæ partly built by the Emperor Diocletian, on the place where the Quirinal joins the Viminal. The principal hall of these thermæ was changed under Pius IV, by Buonaroti, into the church dedicated to the Madonna degli Angeli, and of the other parts best preserved was formed the Certosini monastery. Some parts of the same building that formed the enclosure, consisting of *exhedræ* and halls of various sizes, became hay-lofts and private habitations. One of the round halls that stood at the angles formed the church of S. Bernardo. This extensive building, that covered an immense space of ground, was begun by the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian, and completed by Constantius and Maximinus, as is stated in ancient inscriptions,* but it is generally

* There are two readings of these inscriptions given below.

D. D. NN. DIOCLETIANVS . ET
 MAXIMIANVS . INVICTI . SENIORES
 AVGVSTI . PATRES . IMPERATORVM . ET
 CAESARVM . CONSTANTINVS . ET . MAXIMIA
 NVS . INVICTI . AVGG. ET . SEVERVS . ET . MAXI
 MIANVS . NOBILISS . CAESARES . THERMAS
 FELICES . DIOCLETIANI . AVG. FRATRIS . SVI
 NOMINE . CONSECRATV . COEPTIS . AEDI
 FICIIS . PRO . TANTI . OPERIS . MAGNITV
 DINE . OMNI . CVLTV . PERFECTAS
 ROMANIS . SVIS . DEDICAV. . . .

known by the name of the first of the above-mentioned emperors. In the latter years of the last century there was found a part of an ancient arched way that began at these *thermæ*, passed under the adjoining agger of Servius, and terminated at the Prætorian quarters.

Temples of Fortuna, Libera, Stabilis, et Redux.—Vitruvius, describing the form of the temples in Antis, states that there was an example of one at that place called Tre Fortunæ, in the temple, that stood nearest to the Collina-gate, and as Rufus has marked in succession the temples of Fortuna Libera, Stabilis and Redux, and the Vicus Fortunæ, it is thus ascertained that the three above-named temples were situated a little beyond the *thermæ* of Diocletian, towards the Collina-gate. The last of the said temples, dedicated to Fortuna Redux, could not be the one supposed, by what is stated in Martial,* to have been built for the return of Domitian from the German war, since it would never

D. D. N. N. C. AVREL. VALER. DIOCLETIANVS . ET . M.

VAREL. VALER. MAXIMIANVS INVICTI.

SENIORES AVGG. PATRES . IMPP. ET . CAES. PP. . . .

D. D. N. N. FL. VALER. CONSTATIVS . ET . GALER. VALER.

MAXIMIANVS NOBILISSIMI . CAESARES . FF. . . .

THERMAS . FELICES . DIOCLETIANO . COEPTAS . AEDIFICIIS . PRO

TANTII . OPERIS . MAGNITVDINE . OMNI . CVLTO.

IAM . PERFECTAS . NVMINI . EIVS . CONSECRARVNT.

Canina.

* “Hic ubi *fortunæ reducis* fulgentia late

Templa nitent, felix area nuper erat :

Hic stetit Arctoï formosus pulvere belli

Purpureum fundens Cæsar ab ore jubar.”

MART. viii. 65.

have been previously comprised by Vitruvius in the three above-mentioned.

Circus of Sallust.—In the lower part of the above thermæ towards the north, without the walls of Servius were the celebrated gardens of Sallust which contained large buildings, as is visible by the numerous ruins spread over this locality. These gardens, from their great extent and magnificence, were not perhaps the work of Sallust alone, but were probably embellished by those who subsequently possessed them, and when they served as a resort to several emperors, as is seen by the diversity of construction that is evident in the remaining ruins of buildings. Amongst the principal objects worthy of admiration in these gardens must have been comprized the great circus where the Apollinarian games were celebrated when the Flaminian Circus was inundated by the Tiber. There are still vestiges visible in this locality of the form of this circus. It was surrounded by large substruction works that in part supported the steps of the seats, of which some remains are left on the two sides, and also of the curvilinear part, reaching towards the Salara gate, on which a small rustic house is built. On the spina of the said circus stood the obelisk, which is now raised before the church of the Trinita de' Monti. Along the southern side of the circus there exist many ruins of a building in which are visible the traces of steps that led to the upper part of the circus. In the middle of this building is a large octangular wall, generally supposed to be the Temple of Venus, situated in the Sallustian Gardens; but observing that this building is of a style

belonging to times posterior to the establishment of these gardens, and not suitable to the architecture of a temple, we are induced to believe that it was destined to other purposes, and evidently to serve as a place of reception to the persons of distinction who came to enjoy the spectacles in the adjoining circus.

Temple of Venus Sallustiana.—The temple of Venus, registered by Rufus in the above-named gardens, seems to have been placed in some elevated part in view of the circus, and probably in the middle of the north side, since, on the opposite side, it passed the walls of Servius, as is also seen by a small remnant of square stones that are still there. The existence of the said temple is further proved by the discovery made there, in the seventeenth century, of an inscription relative to the worship of the said goddess who was adored in the Sallustian gardens.*

Portico Milliarense.—Along the side opposite the circus must have stood the Portico Milliarense, which Vopiscus, in the life of Aurelian, says had been embellished by the emperor. If, however, this is not the same portico known to have been in the upper part of the circus, it is only that long space that could contain a portico of a thousand feet or paces, in whatever way may be interpreted the derivation of the word *milliarium* given to this portico.

* The inscription is thus given by Fulvio :—

M. AVRELIVS . PACORVS . M. COCCEIVS. STRATO-
CLES . AEDITUI . VENERIS . HORTORVM . SALLV-
STIANORVM . BASEM . CVM . PAVIMENTO . MAR-
MORATO . DIANAE . D. D.

Canina.

Forum Sallustianum.—As there exist many other remains of ancient buildings at the lower extremity of the above-named circus, towards the churches of the Vittoria and S. Susanna, I am of opinion that here stood the Sallustian Forum, registered by the Regionaries in this region, and not the said Portico Milliarense, as supposed by Piranesi, since this Forum, as proved by the acts of S. Susanna, was situated behind the said church dedicated to this saint.

*Sallustian Gardens.**—The gardens called Sallus-

* *Gardens of Sallust.*—The mere name of the Roman Empire forces upon our minds every image of grandeur, power, and magnificence. The monuments left by these “masters of the world,” even in the most remote provinces, the most obscure cities, still bear the antique Roman stamp—the stamp of vastness and boundless prodigality. The luxury and extravagance of the wealthy Romans were prodigious; and it is not to be supposed that *gardens* were neglected by them. Hence our surprise ceases at the description of the vast gardens of Lucullus, which were derided by many Romans of his day for their “extraordinary sumptuosity,” but were imitated and rivalled by those of Sallust, of the Emperors Nero, Hadrian, and others. These *gardens* (most unlike the English meaning of that word) are said to have consisted of immense sheets of water, lofty artificial towers, vast buildings projecting into the sea, and mountains springing up where not a hill had before been known! The days of voluntary poverty, of rigid simplicity of life, when it was customary to take their generals from the plough, were now gone; and such men as Q. Cincinnatus, Attilius Regulus, Curius, and Fabricius (those founders of Roman greatness) were to live no more. *Illæ rustico opere attritæ manus* (says Valerius Maximus) *salutem publicam stabilierunt.*

But instead of the noble virtues which adorned these heroes, avarice and luxury (inseparable companions) rushed in like a torrent, and could neither be expelled nor resisted, until they had totally overwhelmed the liberty, and, in the end, the very existence of Rome.

. sævior armis

Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.—LUCAN.—W.

tian, from the name of Sallust, who first formed them, must have occupied the space situated between the circus above described and the present walls of the city. In these gardens evidently stood the house of Sallust, with many other buildings destined to the use of his villa. Here, in fact, are seen several remains of ancient walls that seem to have belonged to these private buildings; and in the memoirs of Flaminius Vacca it is mentioned that, in the vineyard situated beside the Salara Gate, then the property of his father, a large building of an oval form was discovered, surrounded by a portico adorned with columns, and several walls with niches supposed to have been occupied by the numerous statues found in the adjoining vineyard, then belonging to the Muti family. Nardini also relates, that he saw discovered in the ancient Verospi vineyard on the hill near the city walls many long and narrow passages, which he believed had formed reservoirs, by means of which Sallust was enabled to water the lower parts of his gardens. Some other remains of ancient buildings are seen scattered over the area occupied by these Sallustian gardens, which certainly formed one of the most delicious villas that existed in Rome; for under the denomination of gardens the ancients were accustomed to designate the villas situated in the Roman suburbs.

Water Reservoir and Nymphæum of Diocletian.—Other reservoirs also still exist under a garden situated along the *Vicolo del Falcone*, behind the monastery of S. Susanna, which are now used as grottoes. These reservoirs probably served to contain the water said to

have been discovered by Diocletian, as appears by an inscription quoted by Gruterus, and which supplied his Nymphæum situated probably near this reservoir.* To this Nymphæum seem to have belonged the walls which are intersected by the Vicolo Sterrato beside the S. Susanna Garden, unless these walls belonged to the house of Caius or Gabinus situated at that spot, as was observed by Nardini.

* The following is the inscription referred to in the text:—

IMP. DIOCLETIANUS. C. AUG. PIUS. FELIX

PLURIMIS. OPERIBUS. IN COLLE. HOC. EXCAVATO. SAXO.

QUÆSITAM. AQUAM. P. H. IVQI. PROFLUVIO. EX. TO. O. HIC

SCATENTEM. INVENIT. MAR. SALUBRIOREM. TIBER

LEVIOREM. CURANDIS. ÆGRITUDINIB. STATERA. JUDICAT

EIVS. RECEPTVI. PVTEUM. AD. PROX. TRICLIN. VSUM

IN. HOC. SPHÆRISTERIO. VBI. ET. IMPERAT

NYMFEUM. F. C.

Canina.

REGION VII.

VIA LATA—BROAD WAY.

1. Gardens so called.—2. Forum Archemorium.—3. Temple of the Sun.—4. Portico of Constantine.—5. Forum Suarium or Market for Sale of Swine.—6. Quarters of the Genziani.—7. Tomb of Bibulus.—8. Tomb of the Claudian Family. Via Lata (described in book, not on map).—9. Arch of Gordianus.—10. Arch of Claudius, so called.—11. Arch of Verus and of Marcus.—12. Schools of Domitian for Gymnastic Exercises.—13. Public Baths.—14. Temple of Isis.—15. Field of Agrippa.—Diribitorium (in book, not on map).

THE seventh region was called Via Lata, from a broad street that passed through it, which was evidently at the beginning of the Via Flaminia, and must have corresponded to the upper part of the present Via del Corso, since the church of S. Maria, erected there, still preserves the ancient denomination of Via Lata. The region from this spot, situated near the Capitol, extended along this street to where the arch of L. Verus and of Marcus stood, near the Fiano palace, and occupied all the space between the Via Lata and the western side of the Quirinal. In this manner, the perimeter of this region towards the hill, seems to have been traced by the line followed by the walls of Servius over the space lying between the Trajan Forum and the Circus of Flora; and towards the plain from the foot of the Pincian hill near the gardens of Lucullus, it reached the above-named

arch of Marcus, and from this point approached the Capitol, by following the modern Via del Corso. This perimeter, considering the windings produced by the numerous buildings contained in it, might very well have formed the measure of 13,700 feet ascribed to it by the Regionaries. This region was altogether outside the walls of Servius ; but from the many streets registered in the catalogue of Rufus, it is evident that it was thickly inhabited.

Orti Argiani.—On entering into this region from the Circus of Flora, the first edifice seen was the Pila Tiburtina, near which stood the house of Martial, as proved by his verses.* In this vicinity is also commonly placed the Temple of Quirinus, denominated Novus ; but the precise spot remains uncertain, as also its existence. In this situation, however, there exist, under the ancient Grimani palace, in the Via Razella, remains of a large building which do not seem, by their position, to have belonged to a temple : by many topographers they are supposed to have belonged to the Archemorium Forum, but this Forum was more in the lower part of the region towards the church of S. Niccola in Arcione. As these ruins must, from their size, have belonged to some considerable building not likely to be overlooked by the Regionaries ; and as in their catalogues they unanimously register, after the Pila Tiburtina, the Orti Argiani, or Largiani, which could be placed in no other situation than this, the nearest to the Collis Hortulorum, it seems to me that the above-named ruins must have belonged to some edifice adjoining these gardens.

* See the lines quoted *ante* Region VI. ; title, Ancient Capitol.—W.

Forum Archemorium.—To the Forum Archemorium, however, which the Greek merchants were accustomed to frequent, following the tradition that the church of S. Niccola was corruptly named *in Arcione* from the name of the said Forum, must have belonged the buildings discovered in laying the foundations of the houses situated around the said church, which buildings extended on one side, in the direction of the walls that sustain the gardens of the Quirinal palace along the Strada Rasella; and, on the other side, were placed under the Gentili palace, and continued also under the walls of the said garden. It is further known that several shops were found under the modern buildings erected near the church of S. Niccola in Arcione, which were supposed to have belonged to the walls of the said Forum. With these elements it may be decided, that the Forum was placed in the direction of the two streets, which in the vicinity of the above-named church follow the walls of the Papal garden.

Temple of the Sun.—In continuing our researches on the side of the region situated at the foot of the Quirinal, at a short distance are seen, in the houses called DELLA PILOTA, and in the Colonna garden, the remains of those large steps that, from the base of this region, ascended to the top of the hill, as slightly observed in the antecedent region. These steps led to the two sides of the great Temple of which there still remained standing majestic ruins in the upper part of the Colonna gardens until the time of Sixtus V., but which are now reduced to a few fragments scattered over the ground. On the subject of these ruins, on their very great size,

many things have been written, and various opinions manifested, in order to ascertain to what edifice they belonged. It has been imagined by some, that they formed part of the re-edification of the Temple of Health, which was destroyed by the fire that occurred in the times of the Emperor Claudius ; by others, that they were the supposed house of the Cornelii, the palace built for the women of Heliogabalus, the Constantine Thermæ, and the Temple of the Sun, built by Aurelian. Amongst these various opinions I have thought it right to adopt the last, although the site occupied by these ruins seems to belong more to the antecedent than to the present region, in which the Regionaries have registered the Temple of the Sun. But considering that the said temple was built by Aurelian on the Quirinal hill, and that no other position on this hill could be more adapted than the present one, in order to comprise it within this region, and bearing in mind the communication to it by means of the above-mentioned large steps, we are induced to believe that decidedly on this spot stood the Temple of the Sun. What further confirms this opinion, is a bas-relief, found in these ruins, representing the worship of the god Mithras,* introduced by Aurelian

* Canina mentions that Aurelian introduced into Rome the worship of the god Mithras. The worship of the sun had long before prevailed in Rome, and, I believe, existed in the latter days of the republic. The history of this false god is curious; the worship sprung up in Egypt, the native land of mysteries, as well as of idolatry—or in Persia. Mithras was the sun amongst the Persians. The grand festival of Mithras was celebrated six days in the middle of the month of Mihr (which month began 30th of Sept.). Upon these days it was lawful for the King of Persia to get drunk and

into Rome, and the front of the temple was situated undoubtedly to the east. If, however, the grandeur of style visible in the few marbles that remain, is not well adapted to the times of Aurelian, although this emperor had been the promoter of great works, as is proved by

dance. This deity was sometimes represented as mounted on a bull, which he kills with a sword. Sometimes he appears as a young man, with his train turned upward, after the manner of the Persian kings. Around his temple, which like a cave was fitted up in a mathematical manner, were seen chariots of the sun and moon, and constellations, such as Cancer, Scorpio, &c. In the ceremonies of initiation, there was a kind of baptism, to wash away sin, and a mark was imprinted on the initiated, of an offering of bread, and an emblem of the Resurrection. The peculiar functions of Mithras were to combat the Spirit of Evil. He gives to the earth light and sun ; traces a course for the waters ; gives to men corn, pastures, and children ; to the world virtuous kings ; maintains harmony on earth, and watches over the land. When Christianity began to progress in the empire, the champions for paganism proposed the worship of this *power of Benevolence*, in order to check the worship of the true Sun of Righteousness, Jesus Christ. I saw in the Museum of Antiquities at Arles, a marble relie, which is much prized. It is called Mithras—emblème du soleil : and the French antiquarians say of it:

“Ce marbre est l'un des plus précieux du musée, par sa rareté ; quoique cette statue soit mutilée, sans tête et sans pieds. La statue en gaine est circonvenue par un serpent qui, de ses pieds se dirige vers la tête ; emblème frappant de la spirale, que d'après le système des anciens le soleil ne cesse de décrire autour de la terre en parcourant les signes du zodiaque. Les douze constellations zodiacales étaient sculptées dans les compartiments que forme l'enroulement du serpent.

“Il ne faut donc pas supposer à ce marbre unique en France, une antiquité antérieure au III^e siècle del ère Chrétienne, ni postérieure au IV^e. Les documents manquent sur l'époque précise de l'introduction et de la destruction de ce culte à Arles. On ne peut la fixer, car si Constantine et ses successeurs immédiats jusqu'en 361 de notre ère, détruisaient, à Arles notamment, les

the numerous monuments of Palmyra,* said to have been built in great part under his reign, this style may also be accounted for in reflecting that Aurelian, to accelerate the construction of his temple, may have made use of marbles taken from another edifice, as seems fre-

temples et les cérémonies des payens, Julien l'Apostat les rétablit en 361, et peut-être ne fut-ce qu'alors qu'il fit introduire à Arles le culte de Mithra dont il avait adopté les superstitions en Orient, lorsqu'il y portait la guerre contre les Perses. L'inscription relative à ce culte, conservée par Orelli, mentionne que la culte de Mithra existait encore à Rome sous le consulat de Valens et Valentinien (l'an 376).—[W.]

* The historian of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" has the following passages, which shed light on the subject Canina discusses above :—"After the conquest of Palmyra by Aurelian, a considerable portion of his Oriental spoils was consecrated to the gods of Rome ; the Temple of the Sun alone received above 15,000 pounds of gold. This last was a magnificent structure, erected by the emperor on the side of the Quirinal hill, and dedicated, soon after the triumph, to that deity whom Aurelian adored as the parent of his life and fortunes. His mother had been an inferior priestess in a chapel of the Sun. A peculiar devotion to the god of light was a sentiment which the fortunate peasant imbibed in his infancy, and every step of his elevation, every victory of his reign, fortified superstition by gratitude."

In a note Gibbon adds, "Aurelian placed in this temple the images of Belus and of the Sun, which he had brought from Palmyra. It was dedicated in the fourth year of his reign, but was most assuredly begun immediately on his accession."

Canina seems to be mistaken when he speaks of Aurelian as having rebuilt many splendid monuments in Palmyra. The emperor ruined the beautiful city of Zenobia. "Although his chief concern was directed to the re-establishment of a Temple of the Sun, he discovers some pity for the remnant of the Palmyrenians, to whom he grants the permission of rebuilding and inhabiting their city. But it is easier to destroy than to restore."
—W.

quently to have occurred in the latter times of the Roman Empire; and, in fact, an undoubted sign of this appears in the variety of work existing between the small stones employed in the construction of the Cella, and the large ones forming the upper ornaments. At the period when many of the ruins of this temple were still standing, geometrical designs of them were made by Serlio, by Sangallo, by Palladio, and by many other amateurs of antiquity—of the view of the lower part of the edifice then standing called the *Torre di Mesa*. Serlio, from not investigating properly the disposition these ruins presented, gave to his design more the form of a palace than of a temple, omitting also to represent the edifice in such a manner that one at least of its façades should be adorned with columns. Little variety exists between this and the design of Sangallo, now in the Barberini library, so that one seems to be a copy of the other. Palladio measured these ruins with more exactness, as I was enabled to verify by what still remains, and formed out of them a well arranged edifice built in the form of a temple, surrounded with columns on the front and sides, which led him to believe, without any other foundation than its size, that it had been dedicated to Jupiter. The large steps that descended to the lower part of this region, and which were added, either at the time of the construction of the temple, or, more probably, when Constantine built his baths in the vicinity, conducted to the posterior part of this temple.

Portico of Constantine.—On the sides of the above-named steps there remain ruins of walls of the

common brick style of construction, and these exist in greater quantity on the side situated towards the Pontifical palace, under the houses that are round the upper court called S. Felice. During the construction, on this same side, of a wing of the Pontifical palace called *Panetteria*, under Clement XIII., it is stated by Winckelman that a coarse Mosaic pavement was found, under which appeared arches so immeasurable and vast that they excited astonishment; but that antiquary could not decide to what building these immense ruins belonged. By observing, however, the situation and structure of these ruins, it seems to me that it may be decided, with much probability, that here stood the portico named that of Constantine, registered in the Regionaries' catalogue shortly after the Temple of the Sun; because in this locality, this portico is exactly near the entrance to the Thermæ of this emperor by the steps above named, and also near the spot assigned to the Forum Suarium, as is inferred from an inscription cited by Panvinus relative to a dedication made to Constantine by a certain Ursacius, prefect of this Forum. In this locality the portico of Constantine was probably disposed on the two sides of the said large steps; and enclosing two spacious courts it formed one of the largest edifices that existed in Rome. The above-named ruins, although covered with modern buildings, still present a grand aspect.*

* The inscription referred to, is as follows:—

DOMINO . NOSTRO .
FL . CLAVDIO . CONSTANTINO
FORTISSIMO . HAC

Forum Suarium.—The Forum Suarium is generally placed near the church of S. Croce de' Lucchesi. Its ancient denomination of S. Niccolo in Porcis or Porcilibus, is derived from the custom preserved till then of selling pigs there. At this spot the Forum must have been to the left of the said large steps that led to the top of the Quirinal. Mention is made of this Forum in the inscription of Flavius Ursacius.

Gentiani Quarters.—On the other side of the said large steps, where there remain some few ruins of bases of arches, seem to have been the Gentiani or Gipsani quarters, registered unanimously by the Regionaries after the Temple of the Sun, and which are supposed to have received their name from Lollianus Gentianus, who is mentioned in an ancient inscription.*

Tomb of Bibulus.—This region, evidently extending to the ancient walls of Servius, situated under the Capitol towards the Trajan Forum, must also have comprised the tomb of Caius Publicius Bibulus, which is preserved in

BEATISSIMO . CAESARI
FL . VRSACIS . V . P .
TRIBVNVS . COHORTI
VM . VRBANARVM
X . XI . ET . XII . ET . FORI
SVARI

Canina.

* This inscription runs thus:—

C . ELPIDIO . L . F . POL . RVFO
LOLLIAN . GENTIANO . AVGVRI . COS .
PROCOS . PROV . ASIAE
LEG . LEG . PR . PR . PROV . LVGDV
NENSIS . COMITI . IMPP . SEVERI
ET ANTONINI . AVGG . LEG
LEG . XX .

Canina.

great part, and placed at the spot called *Macel de' Corvi*. On the front still existing, which corresponded to the street that, from the Campus Martius and passing through the Porta Ratumena, extended to the Roman forum, an important inscription is still seen, purporting that the senate and people had granted to Bibulus, and his heirs, the ground to erect this monument.*

* C . POBLICIO . L . F . BIBVLO . AED . PL . HONORIS .

VIRTVTISQVE . CAVSSA . SENATVS

CONSVLTO . POPVLIQVE . IVSSV . LOCVS

MONVMENTO . QVO . IPSE . POSTEREIQVE

EIVS . INFERRENTVR . PVBLICE . DATVS . EST.

Canina.

The position of this republican sepulchre and that of the Claudian family next mentioned, establish that this locality was outside the circuit of the walls of Servius, since burial within the city was prohibited by the ancients.—CANINA.

Modern legislators might, in this respect, take a lesson from the wise practice of antiquity.—W.

The tomb of Bibulus reminds me of the affecting anecdote narrated by Mr. Rogers, in reference to it, which I cannot forbear extracting.

“Let me recall to your mind,” says Petrarch, in a letter to old Stephen Colonna, “the walk we took together, at a late hour, in the broad street that leads from your palace to the Capitol. To me it seems as yesterday, though it was ten years ago. When we arrived where the four ways meet, we stopped, and none interrupting us, discoursed long on the fallen fortunes of your house. Fixing your eyes steadfastly upon me, and then turning them away full of tears, ‘I have nothing now,’ you said, ‘to leave my children. But a still greater calamity awaits me—I shall inherit from them all.’ You remember the words, no doubt—words so fully accomplished. I certainly do; and as distinctly as the old sepulchre in the corner, on which we were leaning with our elbows at the time.”—*Epist. Famil.* viii. 1.

“The sepulchre here alluded to,” writes Mr. Rogers, “must

Tomb of the Claudian Family.—At a short distance from the tomb above-named, are ruins of another tomb, supposed to have been that of the Claudian family, which, as stated by Suetonius, was situated at the foot of the Capitol.

Via Lata.—Between the tombs above mentioned evidently commenced the Via Lata, from which the region took its name ; and following the same direction as the modern Via del Corso, as observed above, served as a communication from this part of the town to the Campus Martius. Along this street topographers generally place the three arches registered by Rufus in this region—the Gordianus, the Novus, and the third, that of the Emperors L. Verus and Marcus ; and, in fact, it is attested by many writers that various ruins of arches existed, in ages not very remote from us, along the Via del Corso.

The Arch of Gordianus.—Remains of the first of these three arches seem to be those demolished under the Pontificate of Innocent VIII., when the church of S. Maria, in Via Lata, was rebuilt, since, according to Fulvio, the ornaments of these ruins presented the style prevailing at the time of the last emperors, amongst whom Gordianus is comprised. The fragments, however,

have been of Bibulus, and what an interest it derives from this anecdote ! Stephen Colonna was a hero worthy of antiquity ; and in his distress, was an object, not of pity, but of reverence. When overtaken by his pursuers, and questioned by those who knew him not, ‘I am Stephen Colonna,’ he replied, ‘a citizen of Rome.’ And when, in the last extremity of battle, a voice cried out to him, ‘Where is now your fortress, Colonna ?’ ‘Here !’ he answered gaily, laying his hand on his heart.”—W.

of the inscriptions, denoting the decennial votes, which Marliano declares to have been seen amongst the said ruins, not being adapted to the time of the reign of Gordianus, must be supposed to allude to some other personage; if, however, the letters that existed broken on the fragments, did not denote other particulars suited to the said emperor, which it was difficult to ascertain. Thus, it may with some probability be admitted, that on the spot indicated had been erected the arch that, under the name of Gordianus, was registered by the Regionaries.

Arcus Novus.—In the memoirs left by Flaminius Vacca, it is stated, that at the time of Pius IV. there were found, at the beginning of the Piazza Sciarra, which forms part of the Via del Corso, some remains of another arch, amongst which fragments of bas-reliefs, with the effigy of Claudius, having been discovered, it was decided that at this spot stood the arch dedicated to that emperor. This arch seems further to have been the one that, under the title of Novus, was registered in this region in the Regionaries' catalogues. The fragments of sculptured figures now in the museum of the Villa Borghese are supposed to be remains of this arch, as in them the style of sculpture agrees with the epoch of the erection of this monument.

Arch of L. Verus and Marcus.—The third of the above-named arches existed, in great part preserved, at the eastern angle of the Fiano palace in the Corso, until the time of Alexander VII., who ordered it to be demolished to disengage that part of the Corso, and was known under the name of Arco di Portogallo, from the

adjoining habitation of the Portuguese ambassador. It was fully proved by Monsignore Severoli, that this arch had been dedicated to the Emperors L. Verus and Marcus Aurelius, as may also be ascertained from the bas-reliefs taken from this arch, that are now placed on the walls of the large staircase of the palace of the Conservatori at the Capitol. At this arch seems to have terminated the Via Lata, as it was situated in the direction of the buildings that were in the Campus Martius, while the said ancient street afterwards diverged a little towards the west, following the disposition of all the principal edifices that were situated in the lower part of this region that lined the Via Flaminia.

Stadii of Domitian.—In the vicinity of the last named arch, and at the place chiefly occupied by the monastery of S. Silvestro in Capite, we have information that, in times not very remote from us, there existed large ancient buildings. As there were found amongst the ruins of these edifices, in latter times, some inscriptions, written on bricks and large tiles, denoting the greater and lesser Domitian part, that is, *Domitiana major*, *Domitiana minor*; and not being of opinion that these were the usual stamps placed by the ancient kiln-men on their materials, from having found on them a separate mark; and these inscriptions having been written, and not engraved; it has been admitted, by the most accurate topographers, that at this spot were situated some of those large buildings raised by Domitian. Amongst the various buildings built by this emperor, according to what is written by Suetonius in his life, it seems to me proper to select, as having ex-

isted at this place, those that were built by Domitian for the exercise of the wrestlers, jumpers, and runners, and, for this reason, I have supposed that here there existed three species of stadii, of different sizes, for the three above-named gymnastic exercisers. In this manner, placing these stadii, dedicated to the races, near the aqueduct of the Acqua Virgo, which passed at a short distance, we agree with what is written by Martial, in proving that the places most frequented for the races were situated, one near the portico of Europa, and the other near the Acqua Virgo.*

Nymphæum of Jove.—In this region seems to have been comprised the space now occupied by the Piombino palace, on the Piazza Colonna, under which there exist many remains of an ancient edifice. These ruins seem, for the first time, to have been more fully known when, about eight years ago, repairs were made to the said palace, and were then visited by the *Avvocato Fea*, commissary for antiquities, who considered them to be remains of a large portico, without determining the denomination of this portico, nor by whom it was built. He imagined, however, on the authority of a brick taken from these ruins, with a stamp denoting the consulate of Petinus and Apronianus, which was found to correspond to the period of the reign of Adrian, that the edifice to which these ruins belonged was of an epoch, if not the same as that of Adrian, at least not

* The lines of the poet are the following :—

“Sed curris niveas tantum prope Virginis undas,
Aut ubi Sidonio taurus amore calet.”

MART. vii. 31.

much posterior. Examining lately, in company with some learned men, the said ruins, together with those found in the posterior enlargements of the palace standing over them, which, by permission of the proprietor, I was enabled to visit, under the direction of his architect, I found that these ruins had not belonged to any portico whatever, since these remains of walls, though of brickwork construction and stripped of all ornament, present, however, subdivisions of various sizes, not adapted to the architecture of porticoes, but seem, on the contrary, to be better suited to an edifice appropriated to baths or other similar uses. This circumstance is further confirmed by the lead pipes discovered among these ruins, and the great quantity of water found in making, a few years ago, an excavation in the Via del Corso, at the western angle of the contiguous Buonacorsi palace. Thus, amongst the edifices registered in this region, it is not known to which these ruins could, with any foundation, be attributed, except to the *nymphæum* of Jove, of which, however, there exists no certain information. Although it is not yet decided what was the precise form and use of the *nymphæi* amongst the ancients, yet, the one bearing the name of Jove being unanimously registered by the Regionaries amongst the first edifices of this region, we are led to believe that these ruins belonged to such an edifice, as is confirmed by the above-mentioned quantity of water that was brought to it. If, however, the precise form of the *nymphæi* has not been determined, it is uniformly believed that these edifices were principally applied to the use of baths or public washing-

places, that they consisted of large buildings, and were not merely fountains, as has been the opinion of some modern writers. The appellation of Jove given to this *nymphæum*, is supposed to be derived from some large statue of Jupiter that was placed in it. On the north side of this edifice, a part of the pavement of an ancient street has been found, which, from the Corso, followed the direction towards Santa Maria in Via, or towards the Via Lata.

Temple of Isis.—At some distance from the above-named edifice towards the Capitol, and under the part of the S. Marcello Convent, situated towards the Corso, the foundation of a small temple is said to have been found with the inscription *Templum Isidis exoratae*, supposed to have been the one dedicated to Isis; distinguished by the name of Exorata, not to confound it with the more celebrated temple situated in the ninth region.

Field of Agrippa.—Between the edifice existing under the Piombino Palace, and the above-named temple of Isis, must have been the field of Agrippa, registered in this region by all the Regionaries, since in this locality it was in front of the great portico called Pola, from the sister of Agrippa, who completed it after his death. To some part of the buildings that surrounded this field must have belonged the ruins of chambers found in the garden of the Sciarra Colonna palace; and to its re-decoration will probably have served the large pedestals with sculptures of figures representing various provinces, which were discovered when laying the foundations of the Muti palace at the Pilotta, and the marbles, columns,

and statues found in laying the foundations of the convent of S. Marcello, which is opposite the said Muti palace.

Diribitorium.—On one side of the above-named field of Agrippa must have stood the large building called the Diribitorium, where the troops received their pay. It is stated by Pliny, while dwelling on the size of some of the beams, that a very long one was left in the Septi portico by Marcus Agrippa, after having completed the construction of the Diribitorium. It being declared in this passage that this building was the work of Agrippa, and that it was erected for the use of the troops, it may be inferred, with some probability, that it was situated on one of the sides of the field of Agrippa, and certainly in that part of it that was near the Capitol. By the length also of the above-named beam, not included in the construction, it is evident that the edifice must have been very large; and from the spot where this beam was left, it confirms the situation of this edifice near the Septi portico, which corresponded to one side of the field of Agrippa, as will be more fully explained in describing the ninth region.

REGION VIII.

ROMAN FORUM.

1. Julian Curia.—2. Comitium.—3. The Græcostasis.—4. Arch of Fabius.—5. Temple of Castor and Pollux.—6. Temple of Vesta.—7. Julian Basilica.—8. Temple of Cæsar.—9. Temple of Saturn.—10. Arch of Tiberius.—11. Temple of Vespasian.—12. Temple of Fortune.—13. School of Zanta.—14. Temple of Thundering Jove.—15. Temple of Concord.—16. Mamertine Prisons.—17. Arch of Septimius Severus.—18. Basilica of Paulus Emilius.—19. Secretary's Office (of the Senate).—20. Column of Phocas.—21. Forum of Cæsar.—22. Forum of Augustus.—23. Forum of Trajan.—24. Ulpian Basilica.—25. Column of Trajan.—26. Temple of Trajan.—27. Basilica of Silversmith.—28. Forum Boarium.—29. Arch of Septimius Severus.—30. Arch named Quadrifrons.—31. Temple of the Goddess of the Morning.—32. Temple of Fortune.—33. Temple of Hercules.—34. Chapel of Modesty.—35. Temple of Carmenta.—36. Registry Office of Senate.—37. Temple of young Jupiter.—38. Citadel of the Capitol.—39. Curia Calabra.—40. Temple of Juno Moneta.—41. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.—42. Temple of Preserving Jove.—The following not named on map are also described in the book.—Julian Rostri.—Rostri more ancient.—Portico of the Twelve consenting Gods.—The Capitol.—Esquimilium.—Sewer.—Other buildings of the Forum of Trajan.—Ulpian Library.—Temple of Janus.

THE eighth region, called the Roman Forum from the celebrated Forum of that name, embraced in its circuit the whole of the Capitoline hill with the plain situated between this hill, the Palatine, and Quirinal hills. The measure of 12,000 to 13,000 feet, assigned by the

Regionaries, coincides approximatively with the circuit above described. This region, from the multiplicity of the monuments it contained, and from its central situation, must certainly have been the most celebrated. With regard to the disposition of its monuments, and especially of those within the circuit of the Roman Forum, various discussions have in all times arisen, various and many opinions been suggested; so that to undertake to consider each of them separately, instead of throwing light on the investigation, would render it much more obscure. However, not to neglect this interesting part of the city, we will indicate its principal dispositions.

Forum Romanum. *—The situation of this far famed

* *Forum Romanum*.—It was called *Forum Romanum*, or simply *Forum*, by way of eminence, or from its antiquity. The poets name it *Forum Latium*, *Forum Magnum*, and *Forum Vetus*.

Statius, in the first book, *Silv.*, in describing the equestrian statue of Domitian, has described the Forum in which it stood. The poem begins:—

“Quæ super imposito moles geminata colosso

Stat Latium complexa forum?” &c.

The Roman Forums were all public; and, in shape, were said to have been about three times as long as they were broad. They were divided into two sorts, *Fora Civilia*, and *Fora Venalia*, for ornament and recreation, or for use. They were generally surrounded with arched porticoes and splendid temples, or edifices. The magnificent Forum of Trajan affords an example of the *Fora Civilia*. The Forum Suarium already described, and the Forum Boarium in this region, are instances of the *Fora Venalia*.

The topographical description of the *Forum Romanum*, given by Canina, is clear and intelligible, and capable of easy application to the ground; his opinion is supported by classical authority and modern discoveries. And if the traveller will be content

Roman Forum is now ascertained by the late discoveries, which prove that the Forum was situated in the area, usually designated by its ancient name of the Roman Forum, which extends in length from the arch of Septimius Severus to the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, and in breadth from the church of S. Adriano, where exist the remains of the basilica of Paulus Emilius, to the steps lately opened which led to the floor of the Julian basilica. This position precisely corresponds to that between the Capitol and the Palatine, as indicated by Dionysius, or between the summit of the Capitoline hill, on which was erected the great Temple of Jupiter, —a summit properly called the Capitol, and not the other to abide by it, he will obtain a distinct idea of the famous spot, and retain it tenaciously. I have stepped the Forum Romanum with Canina in my hand, and conceived I understood the localities perfectly.

The essay by Hobhouse, in his "Historical Illustrations," from page 234 to 248, although clever and ingenious, is *now* calculated to mislead the traveller. In justice, however, to Sir J. Hobhouse, it must be remarked, that many important discoveries have been made since he wrote, which have obviated some of the difficulties in ascertaining the localities of this interesting spot. Another writer, Mr. Spalding, in his useful book on Italy, vol. i. p. 230, referring to the Roman Forum, says, "our real knowledge of this celebrated spot, may be nearly summed up in a single sentence. Of its site we know only this, that a space may be pointed out beneath the Capitoline and Palatine mounts, within which it undeniably lay ; but we can neither tell with precision what portion of ground it occupied, nor can we fix, with certainty, more than *one* or *two* of its boundaries." Now the value of Canina's labours is, that, following up the views of Niebuhr and Bunsen, he has, on reasonable evidence, established all the boundaries of the Forum, more especially the Western, before doubtful, which has been fixed by the discovery of the site of the Julian Basilica.—W.

summit on which stood the citadel, which was known by its proper name of the Tarpeian Rock, and that part of the Palatine hill that reaches nearer to the base of the Capitol itself. This position is rendered evident by the certain site of the Mamertine prison, which, according to Livy, was situated at a spot that commanded the Roman Forum; and it is clearly proved by the discovery of the Temple of Concord, so celebrated by the meetings it was customary for the senate to hold therein, in presence of the people assembled in the Forum, which temple is said by Festus to have been built between the Capitol and the Forum:—“*ubi nunc est ædis Concordiæ inter Capitolium et Forum;*” a clear indication which determines the site of the Forum in the area beneath. This discovery confirms what is recorded by Statius respecting the equestrian statue of Domitian; because as *it* was situated before this temple, it was necessarily placed nearly opposite the arch of Septimius Severus, and in this spot only could it correspond with the sides of the Emilian and Julian Basilicas, and stand before the buildings placed under the Palatine, as described by Statius. This same position of the Forum is further confirmed from the most ancient Rostra having been found in the vicinity of the said Temple of Concord, where, at the curvilinear base, still appear the small pilasters and traces of the nails that held the said Rostra of bronze together, precisely as they are engraved in the medal of Palicano. Here existed the most notable part of the Forum, or its head, the representation of which I recognized in a bas-relief of the arch of Constantine. This part is evidently designated by

Pliny in indicating the spot where the celebrated golden mile-stone was erected, which was near the Temple of Saturn, built, from the earliest times of Rome, in the opening of the Capitoline hill, or in the narrow and small passage that ascended between the two summits of the said hill, as stated by Servius. The disposition also of the edifices erected at the very head of the Forum, is further confirmed by what was usually practised in the vestibule of houses, in which it was customary to make the opening on the side of the *tabularium* precisely as existed on the said spot—a circumstance hitherto not observed: this arrangement was peculiar to the Romans, as the Greeks in similar buildings followed another practice. The western side of the Forum has now been clearly determined by the discovery of the steps that led to the Julian Basilica, which was thus situated exactly between the above-named Temple of Saturn, placed at the opening of the Capitoline, and the Temple of Castor and Pollux, situated at the foot of the Palatine, as is stated in the Ancyrama inscription. The discovery also of the ancient way which passed before the said steps, has removed every doubt as to the direction of the Forum in the place indicated, unless it were wished to transfer it altogether to the opposite side, not admitting that to it had belonged the monuments above-named, which are known to a certainty to have been situated within the said Forum, and which even now are the only evidences that remain of a spot so celebrated, yet they were lately wholly excluded from it in support of a false opinion.

The area of the Roman Forum* was contained within narrow limits in the early times of Rome, when the city also was comprehended within a small space, and it always became narrower from the numerous edifices that were successively built in its environs, and which even occupied some part of the area itself, together with that of the Comitium which originally occupied a space joined to the Forum. Thus, nothing can be determined as to its extent, much less can any exact dimensions be given of its superficies (as customarily assigned to large open places); because spaces, which were surrounded with buildings, were always marked out only with the measures of length and breadth; the narrowness itself was also evidently proved by the necessity of making the successive additions of the other well-known Fori existing near the Roman Forum, to supply accommodation, which could not be obtained in the latter through the increase of population in the city.

Curia Julia.—The Curia Julia, which is considered as one of the principal edifices of this region, and on the position of which depends in great part the disposition of the Roman Forum, is the one substituted for

* It will be remarked, that Canina does not undertake to fix precisely the space occupied by the Roman Forum. And, in a note to his book, he disputes successfully Nibby's theory, that it consisted of *seven acres*, founded on the misapplication of a classical quotation. The *length commonly* assigned to the *Foro Romano* is from 600 to 630 feet; breadth varying from 180 to 110; its shape was oblong; these dimensions may not be exact; however, it is certain its space was confined within narrow limits. The notions of Nibby, also those in Burgess's "Rome," in reference to the site and boundaries of the Forum, are quite exploded by the modern discoveries and the researches of Niebuhr, Bunsen and Canina.—W.

the Curia Hostilia,* originally built by Tullus Hostilius, as stated by Varro, and in particular by Livy, and which Sylla undertook to rebuild at the eastern extremity of the Comitium, where the statues of Pythagoras and Alcibiades were erected, which, on this occasion, were removed from this spot, as attested by Pliny. From these notices it is chiefly proved that this Curia, in its reconstruction was removed from near the north angle of the Palatine, where it first stood on many steps (as shewn by Livy in the narration of the death of Servius Tullius), to the eastern extremity of the Comitium, where it extended near to the Ruminal fig-tree,† and to the statue of Actius ‡ placed on the steps of the Comitium, as is stated by Festus in the explanation of the word Ruminalis. This Curia having been destroyed by fire when the dead body of Clodius was burnt, was, after various vicissitudes, subsequently rebuilt by Augustus, who previously added to it the Temple of Minerva, and the one called Chalcidicum, as proved from what is stated by Dion, and by the celebrated Ancyrana inscription, in which is registered amongst the works executed by Augustus :—

CURIAM . ET . CONTINENS . EI . CHALCIDICUM .

From this, and from other important facts, it is

* “ Cœlius additur urbi mons ; et, quo frequentius habitaretur, eam sedem Tullus regiæ capit, ibique habitavit. Principes Albanorum in patres, ut ea quoque pars rei-publicæ cresceret, legit Tullios, Servilios, Quinetios, Geganos, Curiatios, Clælios : templumque ordini ab se aucto curiam fecit, quæ *Hostilia* usque ad patrum nostrorum ætatem adpellata est.”—LIVY, i. 30.—W.

† The tree under which the wolf gave suck to Romulus and Remus.—W.

‡ Attus Nevius, or Actius Nævius was the Augur who cleverly severed a whetstone with a razor, as narrated by Livy., i. 36.

clearly proved that to the said edifice, viz., Curia Julia, belonged the three beautiful Corinthian columns now standing in the middle of the spot commonly called the Campo Vaccino, which is situated above the area occupied by the Roman Forum, and, in fact, it is only to the place where the above-named columns exist that the descriptions can be applied which refer to the Curia Julia.*

Rostra Julii.—Before the said Curia stood those Rostra, according to the authority of Varro, that were named Julian, from having been transferred by Cæsar from the middle of the Forum, where they first stood, to the spot indicated before the Curia, as is stated by Dion in relating the things done by Cæsar. These Rostra were different from those more ancient ones that stood before the Temple of Concord under the Capitol, and which have been lately discovered, as will be observed hereafter; while those were more commonly called simply Rostra—the latter, to distinguish them, were named Rostra Julii.

Comitium.†—Beside the Curia, adjoining it on the

* It will be observed Canina affirms that the three Corinthian pillars standing in the midst of what is now termed the Campo Vaccino, belonged to the Curia Giulia. These pillars are fluted, nearly thirty feet in height, supporting a rich entablature, the whole being of the most admirable workmanship. These precious remains of the best style of Roman architecture, are ascribed sometimes to the temple of Minerva Chalcidica, the Græcostasis, &c. See Murray's "Compilation," p. 254. Our antiquary, without any hesitation, ascribes these beautiful pillars to the Curia Giulia, and the most learned modern critics agree with him.—W.

† The *Comitium*, originally signifying a place of meeting, was only a part of the Roman Forum, which was used for the celebra-

right side, stood the Comitium. This place that was used to hold the Comitia Curiata, until reduced to a building, was distinguished from the Forum, perhaps *only by the elevation of its soil*, but afterwards, when in the year in which Hannibal came to Italy it was covered, it must have been surrounded with columns and walls, and decorated with other ornaments. But its area was subsequently, in a great part, occupied by the above-named Curia Julia, and by the Basilica, also called Julia, which will be described in the sequel; and some other edifices were also erected in the same area when the Comitia were held in another place. There, however, always remained an area, somewhat long and narrow, extending to the south side of the Forum; and this area was raised above the soil of the Forum by steps, called for this reason the steps of the Comitium, some trace of which in front of the Julia Basilica has been lately found.

Græcostasis.—On the right of the Curia, beyond the Comitium, and in an elevated spot, stood, according to Varro, the Græcostasis, in which the ambassadors of

tion of the *Comitia*, or general assemblies of the Roman people convened by the different magistrates. These Comitia were of three sorts, *Curiata*, *Centuriata*, and *Tributa*, according to the three grand divisions of the city and people into *Curia*, *Centuria*, and *Tribes*. The *Comitia* were also named “calata,” from *calare*, to call. The following passage shews it was long without a roof:—“Eo anno primum, ex quo Hannibal in Italiam venisset, *comitium tectum esse*, memoriae proditum est, et ludos Romanos semel in-
tauratos ab ædilibus curulibus,” &c.—LIVY, xxvii. 36.

Plutarch tells us that the plain where the Romans met the Sabines, for the purpose of deciding upon the terms of a treaty was called Comitium.—W.

foreign nations were received. In the localities in which this edifice must have existed, towards the south side of the three remaining columns of the Curia Julia, there no longer exist any remains that can be attributed to the said edifice. From the indications, however, we have of its use, it must be supposed to have been formed of a single hall somewhat raised above the ground, as notified by Varro. In the fragment of the ancient plan of Rome, marked XLVI., some letters are engraved which are known to have belonged to the name of the said edifice; but there remains no indication of its form, as the part of the foundations there marked belongs to the Curia Julia above described.

Arch of Fabius.—At the foot of the eastern side of the Comitium is generally placed the arch of Fabius, which must have stood at the opening of the Via Sacra into the Forum, where on each side were two of the arches called Jani.

Temple of Castor and Pollux.—On the other side of the Curia Julia may be placed, according to the indication given by Cicero, the Temple of Castor and Pollux. This temple must also have been placed very near, and almost adjoining that part of the palace that was prolonged to the Forum by Caligula, since this emperor transformed it into a vestibule of his house,*

* This subject is alluded to by Suetonius in the following words —“Datoque negotio, ut simulacra numinum, religione et arte præclara, inter quæ Olympici Jovis, apportarentur e Græcia, quibus capite demto suum imponderet, partem palatii ad Forum usque promovit, atque æde Castoris et Pollucis in vestibulum transfigurata, consistens sæpe inter fratres Deos medium se adorandum adeuntibus exhibebat,” &c.—*In Vita Caligulæ*, 22. It is

that was placed on this side of the Palatine. On the side also of this edifice must have been the pond, or spring of Juturna, as the temple was originally built there. Of this edifice there no longer exist any remains, but its whole form is well known by what is marked in the fragment of the ancient plan of Rome under XLV., which also contains a part of the contiguous Julian Basilica.

Temple of Cæsar.—On the spot where the body of Julius Cæsar was burnt, a temple is said to have been built by Augustus, in honour of Cæsar, immediately after the celebration of his funeral, as is particularly mentioned by Dion and by Appian; and as it is known from these writers that the body of Cæsar, after having been exposed in the Forum near the Rostra, was carried by the people to the Capitol, there to be burnt and buried in the temple as a divinity; but this being forbidden by the priests, the people brought it back to the Forum, and raised a funeral pile where there existed an ancient Basilica. Thus it is known that it could have been placed only on the spot where the Porcian Basilica stood, as this is the only one that was destroyed a short time before the building of this temple. And as the above-named Porcian Basilica (mentioned by Asconius in explaining some words of Cicero in the oration in favour of Milo), was destroyed by fire with the Curia Hostilia when the body of Clodius was to be noted (as Dion tells us) that he did not destroy the temple of Castor and Pollux, but having divided it into two parts he formed an entrance between the statues of the brother gods into the palace, saying that he determined to have the sons of Leda and Jupiter as his janitors!—W.

burnt, being close to it, the said temple may thus be placed near the Curia Hostilia, towards the Palatine, where it was near the Temple of Castor and Pollux, as stated by Ovid. *

Temple of Vesta.—From the position of the Juturna fountain above mentioned, may also be deduced that of the celebrated Temple of Vesta, since this fountain is proved by Dionysius to have been near this temple. According to this indication the Temple of Vesta was situated where now stands the church of S. Teodoro; and the circular form that temple must have had, is preserved in that of the church. This position is particularly indicated by the well-known verses of Ovid. † Before the temple evidently stood the ancient palace of Numa, which served as its atrium; and adjoining the said temple must have been the sacred wood that extended along the Via Nuova, which stretched from the Forum towards the Velabrum. Some remains of a Vestal Virgin's tomb were found near the church of S. Maria Liberatrice, where there probably was a space which formed part of the sacred enclosure of Vesta.

Basilica Julia.—Amongst the buildings situated on the lesser side of the Forum, turned towards the Velabrum, the first indicated is the Julian Basilica, as is

* *Fratribus adsimilis, quos proxima templa tenentes
Divus ab excelsa Julius æde videt.*—OVID.

† *Paruit, et ducens, hæc sunt fora Cæsaris, inquit;
Hæc est a sacris quæ via nomen habet.*

Hic locus est Vestæ, qui Pallada servat et ignem:

Hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numæ.

OVID. *Trist.* iii. 1. 27.

CANINA.

particularly deduced from the verses of Statius, in which he states that the statue of Domitian, situated in the middle of the Forum, and turned towards the Palatine, had on one of its sides the Basilica of Paulus, placed towards the Forum of Cæsar, and, on the other, the Julian Basilica.* In two fragments of the well known ancient plan, XLV, is designed a part of the disposition of this Basilica. It appears by these fragments that it was formed of a double row of arches, in the manner of a portico, and as a portico it is in fact registered in the catalogue of Victor. Over this same Basilica, Caligula seems to have thrown his bridge, by means of which he was accustomed to communicate from the Palatine to the Capitol; since Suetonius relates in his life that this emperor, during several days, threw much money to the people from above the roof of the Julian Basilica. Both the position and history of this Basilica are registered in the well-known Ancyrana inscription, relating to the works of Augustus, by which it is known to have been situated between the Temple of Castor and that of Saturn; that it was begun by the adoptive father of Augustus, that is, Julius Cæsar; that having been destroyed by fire, it was rebuilt by him on a greater extent of ground, under the name of Caius and of Lucius, his sons, ordering that, if in his lifetime it was not completed, it should be finished by his heirs.†

* At laterum passus hinc Julia tecta tuentur.

Illinc belligeri sublimis regia Pauli

Terga pater, blandoque videt Concordia vultu.

STAT. *Sylvar.* i.

† FORUM . IVLIVM . ET . BASILICAM . QUÆ . FUIT .

INTER . ÆDEM . CASTORIS . ET . ÆDEM . SATURNI . CÆPTA .

Of this Basilica nothing till now has been found but the steps that led to the area situated before it, on which stood many famous statues, as is ascertained by various memorials found which belonged to that part of the area of the Comitium lately described; but in the excavations made in the year 1789, several remnants of pilasters were found that sustained the arches of which the Basilica was composed, as is proved by what is seen traced in the marble above-mentioned, of the ancient plan of Rome. It is from this singular architecture that the edifice assumed the aspect of a portico and a basilica at the same time, as it is variously called in the sundry indications that have come down to us through ancient writers. To the use of a portico were applied the external galleries; to that of a Basilica the entire middle space.*

Temple of Saturn.—By what is stated in the Ancyrana inscription above-mentioned, that the Julian Basilica stood between the Temple of Castor and that of Saturn, as well as by the indication of VRNI OR TEMPLVM

PROFLIGATAQUE . OPERA . A . PATRE . MEO . PERFECI . ET . EAM DEN .

BASILICAM . CONSUMPTAM . INCENDIO . AMPLIATO . EIUS .

SOLO . SVO . TITULO . NOMINIS . FILIORUM . CAII . ET . LUCII .

RENOVAVI . ET . SI . VIVUS . NON . PERFECISSEM . PERFECI . AB .

HEREDIBUS . MEIS . CURAVI .

* The following inscription taken from Grutero is said to have been found exactly close to the steps of the above-mentioned Basilica Giulia.

GABINIUS . VETTIVS

PROBIANUS . V . C . PRAEF . VRB .

STATUAM . QUAE . BASILICAE

IVLIAE . A . SE . NOVITER .

REPARATAE . ORNAMENTO .

ESSET . ADIECIT .

SATURNI, seen on the above named fragment of the Julian Basilica, we are enabled to recognise in the eight Ionic columns, standing at the foot of the Capitol, that Temple of Saturn* which, according to the most probable tradition, was completed under Aulus Sempronius Atratinus and Marcus Minutius; and in which Valerius Publicola afterwards established the treasury. Its situ-

* “Inde Aulus Sempronius et Marcus Minucius. His consulibus *ædes Saturno dedicata*: Saturnalia institutus festus dies.” A. C. 495.—LIVY, ii. 21.

This temple, it is clear from various authorities, was the Treasury of the Roman people, in which both the money and the public records were preserved.

Macrobius (*Saturnal.*, i. 8.) describes this temple and its uses in these words:—“*Ædem vero Saturni ærarium Romani esse voluerunt, quod tempore quo incoluit Italiam fertur nullum in ejus finibus furtum esse commissum: aut quia sub illo nihil erat cujusquam privatum;*

‘Nec signare solum, aut partiri limite campum,
Fas erat: in medium quærebant.’

Ideo apud eum locaretur pecunia communis, sub quo fuissent cunctis universa communia.”

An old commentator upon the passage in Persius (*Sat.* ii. 59), “*Saturniaque impulit æra*,” assigns a different reason. “*Æs* (says he,) *in æde Saturni condebatur, nondum argento auroque signato. Unde ærarium nomen accepit.*” And so Cyprian, “*De Idolorum Vanitate*,” writes, “*Hic literas imprimere, hic signare nummos in Italiâ primus instituit. Unde ærarium Saturni vocitatur.*”

Cicero, in his *Epist.* to Atticus, vii. 20, alludes to this Temple Treasury in these words, “*Hoc cujus modi est?*” vii. Id. Feb. Capuam C. Cassius trib. pl. venit. Attulit mandata ad eos. ut Romam venirent, *pecuniam de sanctiore ærario auferrent, statim exirent urbe relictâ,*” &c.; and Lucan (*Pharsalia*, iii. 155), describes Metellus the Tribune defending the door of this Temple against the intrusion of Julius Cæsar, who, notwithstanding, forced his way in and seized the accumulated wealth of ages.—W.

ation is further determined by the indication given by Dionysius, that it stood at the lowest part in the hollow of the hill, and near one of the ascents that led from the Forum to the Capitol; and still more clearly by Varro, who says that it was at the opening of the hill originally called that of Saturn, since at the opening only can the access to the intermontium be recognised at this spot. The same situation is also confirmed by Servius, in stating that the bones of Orestes were brought from Aricia to Rome, and buried in front of the Temple of Saturn, which was under the Capitoline hill, and near to the Temple of Concord,* all which circumstances are applicable only to the spot occupied by the eight Ionic columns above named. And as in the vicinity of the said temple it is asserted by Pliny, by Tacitus, and by Suetonius that there stood the celebrated golden milliary column,† placed by Augustus at the head of the Roman Forum, the spot where the said temple existed must

* "Orestis vero ossa ab Aricia Romam translata posita sunt et condita ante templum Saturni, quod est ante clivum Capitolini juxta Concordiæ templum."—SERVIUS in *Virgilii Eneide*, ii. 115.—CANINA.

I ought to observe that in the useful compilation, "Murray's Hand-book," p. 289, the three beautiful pillars which, by Canina, are asserted, and on apparently good grounds, to be the remains of the Temple of Vespasian, are described as denoting the Temple of Saturn; while the eight Ionic pillars referred to in Murray as the Temple of Vespasian, are shewn by Canina to belong to the Temple of Saturn. The mistake in the Hand-book is not surprising. Canina has spent a life-time in antiquarian researches on the spot.—W.

† Concerning the Golden Milliary Column, "De Milliario Aureo," *vid.* a learned discussion in Not. et Emend., Brotier's Tacitus ad Hist. i. 27. Whether it was so called from its *golden*

have constituted the head of the Forum, on the side opposite the principal entrance into the Forum from the Via Sacra to the Fabian arch, and this is a further proof that the Forum extended from the foot of the Capitol towards the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, near which the Via Sacra passed. This edifice, both by the style of the ruins that remain, and the inscription on its façade, it appears was rebuilt in consequence of a conflagration that evidently occurred after the fall of the Roman empire.

SENATUS . POPULUSQUE . ROMANUS
INCENDIO . CONSUMPTVM . RESTITVIT.

As this transcription is inscribed in the “Memoirs of an Anonymous Traveller” of the eighth century, published by Mabillon, together with others that exist on the adjacent edifices, we are enabled to decide to what edifices

letters, or because entirely of that precious metal, is a matter of dispute. The passage in the original runs thus :—

“Otho, ‘causam digressûs’ requirentibus, cum ‘emi sibi prædia vetustate suspecta, eoque prius exploranda’ finxisset, in-nixus liberto, per Tiberianam domum, in Velabrum inde *ad Milliarium aureum, sub ædem Saturni* pergit.”—TACITUS, *Hist.*, i. 27.

“Ergo destinata die, præmonitis consciis, ut se *in Foro sub æde Saturni ad Milliarium aureum* operirentur, mane Galbam salutavit,” &c.—SÜETONIUS *in Othone*.

From these, and other passages, it appears plain that the Milliarium Aureum was at the upper part of the Forum ; that the place called Velabrum (or great market-place), lay between the Forum and Mount Palatine, and that the Temple of Saturn was at the foot of the Capitoline Hill. And Plutarch (in Galba) tells that all the military roads of Italy ended in the golden mile-pillar.

“Ἐβάδιζεν εἰς ἀγορὰν οὗ χρυσοῦς εἰστήκει κίων, εἰς δὲ αἱ τέτμημένοι ὁδοὶ πᾶσαι τελευτῶσιν.”—W.

belonged the ruins that exist near to the eight above-named Ionic columns.

Temple of Vespasian.—As the inscription that follows in the above-named “Memoirs of an Anonymous Traveller,” edited by Mabillon, is

S. P. Q. R. IMPP. CAESS . SEVERUS . ET

ANTONINUS . PII . FELICES . AUGG. RESTITVERUNT ;

and as on the architrave of the three graceful Corinthian columns standing at the foot of the Capitol, near to the eight above-named columns of the Temple of Saturn, there remains an indication of the ending of the said inscription in the letters *ESTITVER*, or “restituerunt,” it is ascertained that the three said columns are the remains of the Temple of Vespasian, and not of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, to which the said columns are generally attributed; in fact, the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, from all existing indications, is known to have been erected in the Capitol, as will be proved hereafter, whilst that of Vespasian is clearly stated by Statius to have been situated near to the Temple of Concord, and behind the great equestrian statue of Domitian erected in the centre of the Forum, with the front turned towards the north angle of the Palatine.* That it was this temple is confirmed by observing that in the catalogue of the Notitia of the empire, the Temple of Vespasian is registered after that of Saturn, and it is also proved by the style of the ornaments carved on the said ruins.

Temple of Concord.—Near to the Temple of Vespasian, and towards the Mamertine prison, were

* “Terga pater, blandoque videt Concordia vultu.”—STATIUS.
—CANINA.

discovered in 1817, the foundations of the celebrated Temple of Concord, built for the first time by the Roman senate and people, on account of the agreement made on the election of the Consuls after the dictatorship of Camillus, and subsequently rebuilt in a better style of architecture by Tiberius, as Suetonius narrates in the life of that emperor. Its site above the Forum is established by sundry writers, and chiefly by the above-mentioned verses of Statius relative to the horse of Domitian. In a fragment of the ancient plan of Rome, XXIII., is carved a part of the indication of this temple, on which are even designed some of the steps that faced the portico of the Temple of Saturn. On the sides of the cella of this temple there was no portico, but there were additions to the breadth which extended from each side of the *pronaos*, as is indicated in an antique medal which represents the front of this temple. By this disposition a cella was formed of greater breadth than length, and was in this instance adopted from deficiency of space. But in this manner the cella had a greater extent, and could offer all the convenience required for the assemblies of the senate, which were held more frequently in this than in any other temple. From what has been said relative to the inscriptions registered by the Anonymous Traveller of the eighth century, it appears that, at that period, the following inscription still existed on the front of this temple:—

S. P. Q. R. AEDEM . CONCORDIAE . VETVSTATE.

COLLAPSAM . IN . MELIOREM . FACIEM . OPERE . ET . CULTU.

SPLENDIDIORE . RESTITVERUNT.

Of this inscription there were, in the past centuries, some fragments in the Lateran Basilica which serve to confirm what is stated by the Anonymous Traveller. Of this grand edifice there now remains only the *nucleus* of the foundation, stript of all ornament; yet on the threshold of the *cella* door there exists the figure of a wand, which alludes to that concord which served as a motive to build this temple.

The most Ancient Rostra.—Opposite the Temple of Concord, towards the Forum, and in the side of the Arch of Septimius Severus, was discovered, in 1836, a basement forming the segment of a circle, and adorned with small pilasters, which I recognized as having belonged to the tribune from which it was customary to harangue the people collected in the Forum, and which, from having been adorned with the *rostra* of the ships taken from the people of Antium, in the year 375 of Rome, was known by the name of *rostra*, as proved by my dissertation inserted in the proceedings of the Roman Archæological Academy. From what remains of this monument, it evidently resembles what is represented in the antique medal known by the name of Palicano, and marks are still seen of the hinges that held the bronze *rostra*, placed between each pilaster of the base. This tribune, both from the ruins that exist, and from what I recognized to have belonged to it in the bas-relief of the arch of Constantine, in which is represented the lesser side that formed the head of the Forum, was evidently divided into two distinct parts; the lower one raised a few steps above the area of the Forum, the upper one placed on the above-named basement. On the side

of the tribune for the orators were small cells for the writers. This tribune differed from the one called the *Rostra Julia*, which stood on the opposite lesser side, opposite the *Curia Julia*, as already stated. Around each of these tribunes were placed statues of the most illustrious men. Near to these most ancient *rostra*, was discovered the pedestal that formed the base of the celebrated *rostral* pillar raised in honour of Caius Duilius, as appears by the very important inscription that now exists in the Capitol. Between the said *rostra* and the Arch of Septimius Severus, a round base has been found, which may be supposed to have sustained the so-called *umbilicum* of the City of Rome, since it is registered by Victor precisely before the Temple of Vespasian, and, by the *Notitia* of the Empire, between the Temple of Concord, and those of Saturn and Vespasian. On the other side must have existed the golden milliary column, because it stood near to the temple of Saturn, and at the head of the Roman Forum, as stated in the records that have come down to us.

*Arch of Tiberius.**—At the western extremity of the said minor side must have stood the Arch of Tiberius, erected to celebrate the recovery of the ensigns of Varus by Germanicus, under the auspices of Tiberius. It is distinctly stated by Tacitus that it was situated near the Temple of Saturn. Some remains of the foundation of this arch were found, when, a few years ago, the wall

* “*Fine anni, arcus propter ædem Saturni, ob recepta signa cum Varo amissa, ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii; et ædes Fortis Fortunæ Tiberim juxta in hortis, quos Cæsar dictator populo Romano legaverat,*” &c.—TACIT. *Annal.* ii. 41.—W.

was built which sustains the ascent to the Capitol. The form of it is seen in the above-named bas-relief of the Arch of Constantine, which I recognized as having represented that side of the Forum.

Arch of Septimius Severus.—On the opposite side, and preserved entire, is the arch which, according to the inscription (in the note), on the two fronts, was erected in honour of Septimius Severus,* and of his sons Caracalla and Geta. Other inscriptions are said to have been found in removing the earth that surrounded this arch, and particularly one in honour of Constantine.†

The Mamertine Prison.—Near to the above-named temple of Concord, exists undoubtedly the celebrated, rather than large, Mamertine prison, built by Ancus

* IMP. CAES. LUCIO. SEPTIMIO. M. FIL. SEVERO. PIO.
PERTINACI. AVG. PATRI. PATRIAE. PARTHICO. ARABICO. ET.
PARTHICO. ADIABENICO. PONTIFIC. MAXIMO. TRIBUNIC.
POTEST. XI. IMP. XI. COS. III. PROCOS. ET.
IMP. CAES. M. AURELIO. L. FIL. ANTONINO. AVG. PIO. FELICE.
TRIBUNIC. POTEST. VI. COS. PROCOS. P. P.
OPTIMIS. FORTISSIMISQUE. PRINCIPIBUS.
OB. REM. PUBLICAM. RESTITUTAM. IMPERIUMQUE. POPVLI.
ROMANI. PROPAGATUM.
INSIGNIBUS. VIRTUTIBUS. EORUM. DOMI. FORISQUE. SENATUS.
POPVLUSQUE. ROMANUS.

† Fea has preserved the memory of the following inscription :

PROPAGATORI. IMPERII.
ROMANI. D. N. FL. IVLII.
CONSTANTIO. MAXIMO.
TOTO. ORBE. VICTORI.
AC. TRIUMF. SEMP. AVG.
MEMMIUS. VITRASIVS.
ORFIVS. V. C. ITERVM.
PRAEF. VRBI. IVDEX.
SACR. COGN. TERT. D. N. M. Q. B.

Martius,* and commanding the Roman Forum as stated by Dion and Livy. It was augmented by a subterranean room under Servius Tullus, and called also the Tullian prison. Having been consecrated from remote times to the apostle S. Peter, this prison is still in a great part preserved. On its front are engraved the names of Caius Vibius, C. F. Rufinus, and of Marcus Cocceius Nerva, who were consuls in the year of Rome 775, and who, by decree of the senate, restored this monument—

C. VIBIUS. C. F. RUFINUS. M. COCCEIUS. . . . NERVA. EX. S. C.

The modern steps, situated in front of the prison, have evidently preserved the same position as the celebrated Gemonian steps that from the upper prison descended to the Forum.

Basilica of Paulus.—Along the eastern side of the Forum, it is proved by the verses of Statius above mentioned, relative to the horse of Domitian, that the Basilica of Paulus was situated, not, in my opinion, the one that he built from the foundation, which must have been in the fourth region, but the one he rebuilt with ancient columns in the middle of the Forum. Neither to this Basilica nor to the other in the fourth region, could relate the fragment of the ancient plan of Rome commonly adapted to it, as will be seen in treating of the Ulpian basilica. From the position indicated it is believed that, to the Basilica of Paulus belonged the

* “Ingenti incremento rebus auctis, quum in tanta multitudine hominum, discrimine recte an perperam facti confuso, facinora clandestina fierent, *carcer* ad terrorem increscentis audaciæ media urbe, *imminens foro*, ædificatur.”—LIVY, i. 33.

walls existing around the church of S. Adrian, although there now appears little of the ancient construction.

Temple of Janus.—Between the church of S. Adriano and the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Lubacco informs us that there was a small temple of square form and adorned with columns, of which he gives the designs in his book of architecture. This edifice seems to have been the Temple of Janus, which is known to have been situated near the Roman Forum.

The office of Secretary of the Senate.—The office of Secretary to the Senate, built by Flavian in the latter years of the empire, and mentioned in an inscription formerly existing in the tribune of the first church of S. Martina, which is generally transcribed by all topographers,* is clearly proved to have been situated at this spot, by what is stated in the above named inscription.

Column of Phocas.—Of the monuments that stood in the middle of the Forum, besides the *rostra* and the horse of Domitian, described above, there was also an honorary column, still existing, dedicated to the Emperor Phocas, by Smaragdus Exarch of Italy, as is testified by the inscription engraved on the face of its

* The following inscription is given by Grutero :—

SALVIS . DOMINIS . NOSTRIS . HONORIO . ET . THEODOSIO .

VICTORIOSISSIMIS . PRINCIBUS .

SECRETARIUM . AMPLISSIMI . SENATUS . QUOD . VIR . INLUSTRIS .

FLAVIANUS . INSTITVERAT . ET . FATALIS .

IGNIS . ABSUMPSIT .

FLAVIVS . ANNIUS . EVCHARIUS . EPIFANIUS . V . C . PRAEF . VICE .

SACRA . IVD . REPARAVIT . ET . AD . PRISTINAM .

FACIEM . REDUXIT .

CANINA.

pedestal. At the foot of this column towards the west, three other pedestals of brick construction have been found, which must have sustained other honorary columns, of which there still exist some remains, broken, and lying on the ground. On the side opposite to the column of Phocas, and evidently in the direction of the Via Sacra, which opened into the Forum at the Fabian Arch, stood the four fronted arches called Jani, which, to the number of two, are registered in the catalogue of Victor, but nothing more can be determined with precision respecting these monuments, or many others that were erected in the midst of the Forum. Thus leaving the Roman Forum, we will proceed to the examination of those that were subsequently added.

Forum of Cæsar.—By the increase of the Roman empire, the space occupied by the Roman Forum not being sufficient to contain the great number of persons who resorted to it, another adjoining Forum was added to it by Cæsar when he erected a temple to Venus Genitrix, from the vow he made before the battle of Pharsalia, and raised an enclosure around the temple in the form of a Forum, which he destined not to the sale of merchandize, but to law-suits or to treat of business. Topographers agree in supposing this Forum to have been situated on the eastern side of the Roman Forum, and behind the churches of S. Martina and S. Adrian. On this side of the great Forum was placed the Basilica rebuilt by Paulus, so it evidently served, from its situation, for one and the other Forum, and rendered the communication free between them. The Temple of Venus, placed by Cæsar in the centre of his Forum,

appears to me to be the one discovered at the time of Palladio, in laying the foundations of some houses situated between the three columns existing near the Arco dei Pantani; and the spot where the statue of Marforio stood, of which this architect added the designs at the end of his book of antiquities, calling it also the Temple of Neptune, merely from having found some figures of Tritons sculptured on the fragments of the cornice. But these ornaments, being equally adapted to Venus, give greater weight to my opinion, for I am not aware that any Temple of Neptune was raised on that spot. Besides, the proportions of this temple, retraced by Palladio, seem to conform precisely to those of the temples invented by Vitruvius, of which this Temple of Venus was cited as an example by that writer. Before the Temple of Venus stood the image of Cæsar's horse,* placed there by himself. Although I have made many researches to discover traces of this temple in the subterranean parts of the houses situated at this place, I have not succeeded in finding any whatever, and it may therefore be supposed that all that was then found of this edifice was totally destroyed in building the houses over it.

* "Utebatur autem equo insigni, pedibus prope humanis, et in modum digitorum ungulis fissis: quem natum apud se, cum haruspices imperium orbis terræ significare domino pronuntiassent, magna cura aluit: nec patientem sessoris alterius primus ascendit: *cujus* etiam *instar* † pro æde Veneris genitricis postea dedicavit."—SÜETONIUS *in Cæsare*.

† *I. e., effigiem consimilem*—ipsi equo Cæsaris magnitudine parem.—W.

*Forum of Augustus.**—Suetonius relates that Augustus, considering that with the increase of inhabitants law-suits had increased, and that the two *fori* above-named, dedicated to these purposes, were not sufficient for all these affairs, built another Forum, in which he raised a temple dedicated to the Avenging Mars, and ordered, even before the temple was completed, that the judges should hold their sittings in it. The author further observed that Augustus, in order not to destroy, or to take away from the owners the houses that were near to it, made the Forum of a smaller size than was customary. I have thought it proper to follow the opinion of Palladio, and of other modern writers lately confirmed in recognizing, as remains of this Forum and of the Temple of Mars, the three large Corinthian columns with the ancient walls that exist at the place called “Arco de’ Pantani,” principally because these remains could not form one sole enclosure with those that are known to have belonged to the Forum of Nerva. To the walls that enclosed this Forum, which are known to have been disposed in a semicircular form on the two sides, were attached the porticoes in which Augustus placed the statues of those captains who, by their talents and achievements, had rendered the Roman empire so

* “Publica opera plurima exstruxit: ex quibus vel præcipua, Forum cum æde Martis Ultoris, templum Apollinis in Palatio, ædem Tonantis Jovis in Capitolio. Fori exstruendi causa fuit, hominum et judiciorum multitudo, quæ videbatur, non sufficientibus duobus, etiam tertio indigere. Itaque festinantius necdum perfecta Martis æde, publicatum est cautumque ut separatim in eo publica judicia, et sortitiones Judicum fierent.”—SÜETONIUS *in Augusto*, 29.

great. A portion of one of these curvilinear porticoes is marked in the small fragment of the ancient plan of Rome, known to have belonged to the adjoining Forum of Nerva, of which mention is made in the fourth region. It appears that the irregularity observed in the external part of the wall that enclosed this Forum, was produced by the situation of the houses which Augustus would not pull down.

Forum of Trajan.—Trajan far surpassed Cæsar and Augustus in the formation of another Forum near those above described; and many ancient writers have extolled the grandeur and magnificence displayed by this emperor in building his Forum, under the direction of the celebrated architect Apollodorus. From the many excavations undertaken since the first years of this century, on the site formerly occupied by this Forum, there remains no further doubt as to its precise position, but some parts of the structure are still concealed by the modern buildings situated about it; yet every small discovery made has presented signs of great magnificence.

Basilica Ulpia.—The principal edifice that existed in this Forum was certainly the great Basilica that Trajan raised on its northern side, called Ulpia, from his own name. The plan of the middle part of this Basilica is now entirely uncovered, and the few remains that exist bear witness to its ancient grandeur. In the first instance, respecting this Basilica, it is indispensable to observe, that for many reasons, I have thought it proper to recognize in the fragment of the ancient plan of Rome, xxiv, supposed to have belonged to the Basilica Emilia, a representation of the Ulpian Basilica with

some buildings that were contiguous to it. This variation I adopted, from seeing in the designs of Fulvio which are in the Vatican library, that to the larger fragment is not united the smaller one, on which are engraved merely the words *AEMILI*, NO. XXI; wherefore it is evident their conjunction was made afterwards, probably by Bellerio, and was consolidated when the fragment was renewed almost entirely: also, from having ascertained, that on another fragment on which the word *Ulpia* is written, with an indication of the position of several columns, the letters are of the same size as those of the word *BASILICA* on the larger stone. Besides, the distances of the columns, and the breadth of the middle nave which is designed in the two fragments last noticed agree. Thus it appears that the second fragment, with the indication of *Ulpia*, must be united to the large one, having the word *BASILICA*; and that the other stone, on which is written simply *AEMILI*, has been erroneously supposed to have belonged to the larger fragment: the more so, as the *Basilica* to which it is wished to attribute it, was generally known to the ancients more by the name of *Paulus* than by that of *Emilius*. And I also observed that the larger stone clearly indicates the plan of the *Ulpian Basilica*, which is known by the existing ruins to have formed with the Forum, with one of the libraries, and with the buildings behind, the *apsis* of which the remains exist at the foot of the *Quirinal*. I still further observe, that the word *LIBERTATIS*, cut on the larger stone at the foot of the *apsis* which it has been wished to attribute to the atrium of *Liberty* mentioned by *Cicero* in speaking of the *Basi-*

lica of Paulus, must evidently be referred to the manumission of slaves, or to the ceremonies performed in giving them liberty, which are proved by the verses of Sidonius Apollinaris to have taken place in this very Basilica.* In fact, the apsis† designed on the marble has not in the least the form of an atrium, nor is it seen to be an edifice separated from the Basilica; but, on the contrary, the calcidica, or tribune of the Basilica itself. On the other hand, in examining well the above-mentioned passage of Cicero, it will be found not to be very clear, because we have no knowledge of any other atrium of Liberty than the one situated on the Aventine. The Basilica had entrances on its south side turned towards the Forum; but there seems also to have been an entrance by the street that communicated from the Roman Forum with the Campus Martius, and this entrance is probably the one represented on the medals of Trajan relative to this Basilica.

Bibliotheca Ulpia.—Along the north side of the said Basilica stood the celebrated Ulpian Library, in which were especially preserved the books of the annals and of the deliberations of the senate. This library is known by the discoveries that have been made, to have formed two divisions when the great spiral column was erected in the middle, as has been observed in the late excava-

* “Nam modo nos jam festa vacant, et ad Ulpia poscunt

Te fora donabis quos libertate Quirites,

Quorum gaudentes exceptant verbera malæ.

(SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, *Epigramma*).—C.

† The *apsis* in ancient churches was supposed to have been so called because covered with an arch of its own. It stood opposed to the nave of the church, and was applied to the bishop's seat, being called *exedra*, and in latter times *tribune*.—W.

tions which were made in a great part of the area that surrounded this edifice.

The Trajan Column.—The celebrated Trajan column, around which are represented in the finest style of art the principal deeds of the Dacian war under Trajan, was raised by the Roman senate and people to serve as a sepulchral monument to this emperor, and at the same time to shew the extent of labour that was employed in reducing to a level plain the spot where it stood, as proved both by the inscription engraved on the pedestal, and by Dion in describing the works of Trajan. It is known from the circumstance recorded in the inscription,* that on this site there extended some branch of the Quirinal, which in part united this hill with the Capitol.

Temple of Trajan.—The temple consecrated by Hadrian to Trajan, as related by Spartianus, is generally admitted to have stood opposite the spiral column on the north side, first, from being registered in the catalogue of Victor, together with the said column, and secondly from its being proved by Aulus Gellius that the library, situated here, was so called from the Temple of Trajan; and, in fact, near this site has been found the fragment of a large granite column, now in the interior of the spiral column, which is supposed to have belonged to this temple. Besides, Winckelmann states that in his time, several other pieces of similar columns were found in making a new entrance to the adjoining

*

SENATVS . POPVLVSQVE . ROMANUS.

IMP . CAESARI . DIVI . NERVAE . F . NERVAE .

TRAIANO . AVG . GERM . DACICO . PONTIF .

MAXIMO . TRIB . POT . XVII . IMP . VI . COSS . VI . P . P .

AD . DECLARANDVM . QVANTAE . ALTITUDINIS

MONS . ET . LOCVS . TANTIS . OPERIBVS . SIT . EGESTVS .

Imperial Palace, with the fragment of a cornice, now in the Villa Albani. Around the pronaus of the temple was disposed a portico, in the manner of an atrium, as known by a medal of Trajan representing the façade of this his temple, and from the indications of columns marked on the side of the library, in the marbles of the ancient plan of Rome. In the middle of this atrium, I think it proper to place the great equestrian statue of Trajan which is registered in the catalogue of Victor together with the said temple, since Ammianus Marcellinus, in mentioning the admiration the sight of this statue created in the Emperor Constantius, states, that it was situated exactly in the middle of the atrium. In the cellar of a house existing on the spot corresponding to the precise centre of the spiral column, were known to have existed the remains of a wall, built with square stones, which appeared, by its situation, could not have belonged to any other building than to the base that must have sustained the large equestrian statue above described; but, on removing the earth, in latter years, to build the new house annexed to the Imperial Palace, the whole mass was found that served as a support to the large steps that led to the pronaus of the temple, which has afforded means to determine, with greater precision, the situation of this edifice and of the equestrian statue.

*Other buildings of the Trajan Forum.**—The Trajan

* Various inscriptions were found amongst the remains of this Forum, amongst which is to be observed that discovered before the principal entrance of the Basilica Ulpia, which demonstrates a dedication made by the senate and Roman people to the Emperor Trajan :—

Forum, properly so called, was situated at the southern side of the Ulpian Basilica, and occupied, in breadth, all the space lying between the Quirinal and the Capitol, and, in length, evidently reached to near the north side of the Forum of Augustus. To support the earth of the two hills in this position, Trajan made two great substruction works, disposed internally as a semi-circle, which served, at the same time, as an ornament to his Forum. Of the one built under the Quirinal there exist some splendid remains, commonly known by the name of Baths of Paulus Emilius, and this building is composed, on the lower story, opened only of late years, of large quadrangular niches, which probably served as shops, and on the upper story, of an arched portico, surrounded by several rooms and halls that communicated with the two stories. Although it is supposed by Piranesi, and by the other antiquarians who followed his opinion, that a similar building existed towards the Capitol, I think, however, that I have been the first to recognize as remains of this work the ancient walls existing under several houses at the spot

S . P . Q . R .

IMP . CAESARI . DIVI .

NERVÆ . F . NERVÆ .

TRAIANO . AVGVSTO

PONTIF . MAX . TRIBVNICIA

POTEST . XVI . IMP . VI . COS . VI . P . P .

OPTIME . DE . REPVBLICA

MERITO . DOMI FORISQVE .

The statues of illustrious men, erected in this Ulpian Forum were generally made of bronze gilt, as appears from the inscription on the statue of Flavius Eugenius, in these words :—

STATVAM . SUB . AURO . IN FORI . DIVI . TRAIANI .

This statue is in the Vatican Museum.—C.

now called the Chiavi d'Oro, which I found to have followed, on one side, the curve of the semicircle extending towards the Forum, and on the other the modern Via Marforio, which preserves the direction of the ancient Via Mamertina, so called from the adjoining prisons, or Argentaria, from the Basilica of that name. To ascertain the resemblance of this building with the one situated towards the Quirinal, I diligently compared the preparations of the constructions and cornices in brickwork, which I found to be the same in both edifices, and which, after an accurate measurement, I ascertained to have been situated on the same level. As it did not appear to me that the architecture of the two said semicircular works could correspond to that of the two other sides of the Forum, both by the style and mode of construction, I thought it proper to suppose that these two buildings did not appear in the principal part of the Forum, but that in front there were two porticoes, disposed in a manner that, while they circumscribed the middle part of the forum, they also gave it a suitable rectangular form, as is indicated by the two lines of columns which, in the marbles of the ancient plan of Rome, are designed perpendicularly to the south side of the Ulpian Basilica. In this manner the Forum was divided into three parts by the said porticoes; and this distribution was probably made in order to establish distinct places for the different species of affairs treated in each. In the middle of the side of the Forum, opposite the Basilica, must have stood the triumphal arch erected to Trajan, which evidently formed the principal entrance to the Forum; and, in fact, towards

that part, it is stated by Flaminius Vacca, in his well-known memoirs, that, in his time, several vestiges of such a monument were found, having bas-reliefs, amongst which appeared the figure of Trajan, and some figures of slaves, similar to those of the Arch of Constantine. Behind the eastern semicircle of the Forum, there also exist many remains of a large building distributed into several stories, according to the declivity of the hill, on which are, in a great part, built the Ceva Palace and the monastery of S. Caterina da Siena. From having lately examined these ruins, in the company of some learned men, and made exact designs of them, (which I shall elsewhere reproduce on a large scale,) together with the Forum, we found, in the pavement of an ancient corridor, situated under the Ceva Palace, other large tiles, with the stamp of Catullus and of Plotina, the wife of Trajan, already discovered and published by the *Avvocato Fea*, by which it was further confirmed that this edifice was built at about the same epoch as the Forum. It was probably destined, at its origin, for the use of the guards and other persons devoted to the service of the Forum, as proved by the disposition preserved in the ruins existing in the monastery of S. Caterina. But, subsequently, it was evidently applied to another use, and, perhaps, in some parts, to the baths of a certain Paulus, not the above-named Emilius, who built the two Basilicas situated in the Roman Forum, but another Paulus, posterior to Trajan, who gave his name to the baths registered by the Regionaries in the sixth region, since this locality belonged, on one side, to the said region.

Basilica Argentaria.—The Basilica Argentaria, registered in the catalogues of this region by Victor and the Notitia, seems to have stood on the south side of Trajan's Forum, or towards the street, now called Marforio, as this street, in very ancient times, bore the same name as this Basilica; since in this position there still exist remarkable remains of chambers or shops, built of square stones, it seems probable that they belonged to this Basilica, and that they were occupied by the silversmiths.

Forum Boarium.—Passing on to consider the spot situated on the western side of the Roman Forum towards the Tiber, called by the ancients the Velabrum,* from its being traversed in boats, in the early times of Rome, when it was still covered with water; the position of the Forum Boarium can be determined with some certainty by a few monuments that were situated in the said Forum, and that are well preserved. This Forum was so called from an image of a bronze bull

* Velabrum—a velis, quod in frequentibus Tiberis exundationibus illic esset, velatura, *i. e.*, trajectus in forum.

From its position near the Tiber, the Velabrum is peculiarly liable to inundations. I may remind the classical reader of the lines of Ovid:—

“Hoc, ubi nunc fora sunt, udæ tenuère paludes;

Amne redundanti fossa madebat aqua.

Curtius ille lacus, siccas qui sustinet aras,

Nunc solida est tellus, sed lacus antè fuit.

Quà Velabra solent in circum ducere pompas;

Nil præter salices crassaque canna fuit.”

The Velabrum, in ancient Rome, was inhabited chiefly by oilmen, of whom it is recorded that they never used to under-sell one another.—W.

placed there, and was on the road that led from the Roman Forum to the Circus Maximus, passing through the Vicus Tuscus and the Velabrum, properly so called.

Arch of Septimius Severus.—The small arch dedicated to the Emperor Septimius Severus, to Julia, his wife, and to their son Caracalla, by the silversmiths and other merchants of the Forum Boarium, as proved by the following inscription carved on its front, exists, in great part preserved, at this spot, and was evidently situated at the point of junction of some of the ancient streets that met in the said Forum.*

Arcus Quadrifrons.—Another arch, of much larger size than the one above-mentioned, but of a different form, still exists, in a great part preserved, at the site formerly occupied by the Forum Boarium. This arch, from being composed of four equal fronts, was commonly called that of Janus, and considered sacred to that divinity; but it may, with greater certainty, be recognized as one of the arches, also called Jani, which served as a shelter and convenience to the merchants in the Forum, and was probably one of those numerous arches

* IMP . CAES . L . SEPTIMIO . SEVERO . PIO . PERTINACI . AUG . ARABIC .
 ADIABENIC . PARTHIC . MAX . FORTISSIMO . FELICISSIMO
 PONTIF . MAX . TRIB . POTEST . XII . IMP . XI . COS . III . PATRI . PATRIÆ . ET
 IMP . CAES . M . AURELIO . ANTONINO . PIO . FELICI . AVG . TRIB .
 POTEST . VII . COS . III . P . P . PROCOS . FORTISSIMO
 FELICISSIMOQUE . PRINCIPI . ET
 JULIAE . AVG . MATRI . AVG . N . ET . CASTRORUM . ET . SENATUS . ET
 PATRIAE . ET . IMP . CAES . M . AVRELII . ANTONINI . PII . FELICIS . AUG .
 PARTHICI . MAXIMI . BRITTANICI . MAXIMI . ARGENTARII
 ET . NEGOTIANTES . BOARII . HVJVS . LOCI . QVI . INVEHENT . DEVOTI
 NVMINI . EORUM .

which, according to Suetonius, were built by Domitian in different regions of the city.

Temple of Matuta.—This temple, registered in this region by Victor, is generally placed at the spot now occupied by the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, which is situated in the Forum Boarium, though there are not sufficient reasons to prove it.*

Temple of Fortune.—On the side of the Temple of Matuta, that of Fortune is generally placed by antiquaries. In front of each of these temples Livy states, that two arches were raised by Stertinius; and it is only by this indication that the position of these temples has been chiefly determined.

Temple of Hercules.†—In the Forum Boarium there was also a temple of Hercules, and by what is registered in Victor, and mentioned in Livy, it must have been of a round form and small.

Chapel of Modesty.—From what is also mentioned by Livy, it is known that near to the temple of Hercules there existed a chapel dedicated to Modesty, which is equally registered in the catalogue of Victor.

Temple of Carmenta.—On the other side of the

* Matuta was a deity among the Romans, the same as Leucothoe among the Greeks. She was originally Ino, who was changed into a sea-deity. The name Matuta (called also Aurora), *matutino tempore*, as presiding over that season. So Ovid—

“Numen eris pelagi: natum quoque pontus habebit:

In vestris aliud sumite nomen aquis.

Leucothoë Graiis, Matuta vocabere nostris:

In portus nato jus erit omne tuo.”

W.

† “Insignem supplicationem fecit certamen in sacello Pudicitiae patriciae, quæ in foro boario est *ad ædem rotundam Herculis* inter matronas ortum,” &c.—LIVY, x. 23.—W.

Velabrum, towards the Capitol, stood the Altar and Temple of Carmenta, from which the Porta Carmentalis derived its name. It was comprised in the first enclosure of the city.*

Cloaca Maxima.—The Velabrum was traversed by the celebrated Cloaca Maxima, built with the greatest solidity by the Tarquins, of which a great part still remains; that part near to the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, reaches to the Tiber. In 1742 was discovered, in the area formerly occupied by the Roman Forum, another part of this Cloaca, built with the same solidity, which must have been near to the channel that received the waters of the said Forum.

Equimelium.—Following along the southern side of the Capitoline hill, where the Vicus Jugarius passed, the place is found on which was the public area originally occupied by the house of Spurius Melius, and destroyed after his death. Since Livy, in stating that the censors, T. Quintius Flaminius and M. Claudius Marcellus, ordered the repair of some buildings above the Equimelium on the Capitol, clearly proves that it corresponded to the foot of this side of the hill. Amongst the fragments of the ancient plan of Rome, there exists one marked XIII., containing an extensive area, with an altar in the middle, which may, with some probability, be supposed to have belonged to this part of the region.

The Capitol.—From the part of the region placed at

* *Carmentalia* was a feast dedicated to Evander's mother, Carmenta or Carmentis; or so called from the Carmentæ, kept on the 11th or 15th of January.—W.

the base, proceeding to consider the part situated at the top of the Capitol, it is proved by antiquaries that there were three ways that led to this hill, as indicated in a passage of Tacitus, in which he mentions that the soldiers of Vitellius, wishing to take possession of the Capitol, first attempted to mount by the principal ascent, but not being able to enter on that side, in consequence of the gates being closed by Sabinus with the statues erected there in honour of the ancients, they passed by the ascent of the wood of Asylum, and by the hundred steps of the Tarpeian rock. When, of late years, excavations were commenced under the Capitol, some traces of the first of the three ascents were found, commonly called the Clivus Capitolinus, by which the cars evidently ascended the hill. It seems that this way had two communications with the Roman Forum, one beside the arch of Septimius Severus, the other near to the Temple of Saturn, where the Arch of Tiberius stood. The ascent, called the Asylum, was towards the Mamertine prison, and commenced at the Arch of Septimius Severus. The third, called the hundred steps of the Tarpeian rock, is generally believed to have been made on the declivity of the hill towards the church of the Consolazione. The entire hill was distinguished into three parts by the ancients. The Capitol, properly called, which was the north summit, on which stood the celebrated temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; the fortress, or rock, situated on the southern summit, which it was customary to call the Tarpeian rock; the intermediate space, comprised in the plain, that separates the two above-named elevations which, for this reason, was called the Intermontium.

Scuola Zanta.—At the foot of the Capitoline ascent properly called, stood, as already shewn, the Temple of Saturn, to which must have belonged the eight Ionic columns still remaining there, and which are commonly attributed to the Temple of Concord. It is now necessary to observe, that it is stated by Lucius Faunus that in his time, near to this temple, an edifice was discovered having the form of a portico, with three shops, which, by the inscriptions* found in it, are known to have constituted the Scuola Zanta registered in the Regionary catalogues. On the above-named spot, situated between the Temple of Saturn and that of Vespasian, the said shops have been cleared of earth of late years, and instead of three, there have been found five, but all stript of their ornaments.

Portico of the XII Consenting Gods.—Above these shops, and on the side turned towards the Clivus Capitolinus, a portico has been found formed on the front part by columns, and in the interior by small arched cells. On the frieze placed over the columns an inscrip-

* The inscriptions found in the above-mentioned edifice are thus reported by Lucius Faunus :--

CAIVS . AVILIVS . LICINIVS . TROSIVS . CURATOR
SCHOLAM . DE . SVO . FECIT
BEBRYX . AVG . L . DRVSIANVS . A . FABIVS . XANTVS . CVR .
SCRIBIS . LIBRABIIS . ET . PRAECONIBVS . AED . CVR . SCHOLAM
AB . INCHOATO . REFECERVNT . MARBORIBVS . ORNAVERVNT . VICTORIAM
AVGVSTAM . ET . SEDES . AENEAS . ET . CETERA . ORNAMENTA .

On the frieze of the gate outside, which was of Doric work, was the annexed inscription :—

BEBRYX . AVG . L . DRVSIANVS . A . FAB . XANTHS . CVR . IMAGINES
ARGENTEAS . DEORVM . SEPTEM . POST . DEDICATIONEM . SCHOLAE
ET . MVTVLOS . CVM . SVA . PECVNIA . DEDERVNT .

tion has been found in fragments, stating that Vettius Agorius Pretestatus had placed or re-established the images of the Twelve Consenting Gods. As mention had already been made by Varro of the images of these gods that stood near to the Forum, it is probable that they were merely re-established by Vettius, since he was prefect of Rome in the year 367 of the present era.

Temple of Jupiter Tonans.—The temple built by Augustus, in consequence of the vow he made in Spain, for not having been struck by the lightning that killed one of his servants who was carrying him on a litter, being stated by all writers to have been situated on the Capitoline,* it cannot be recognized in the three Corinthian columns standing under this hill towards the Roman Forum, which are known by this denomination; since, if the spot where these three columns exist could be comprised in the Capitoline hill, the Temple of Concord, which was adjacent to it, would also have been indicated in the Capitoline, whilst it has always been

* Suetonius, in the life of Augustus, describing the vow made by that Emperor in Spain, demonstrates clearly this to have been the Temple of Jupiter Tonans *in the Capitol*, "*Ædem Jovis Tonantis in Capitolio.*"

Also in the "*Anicrana*" inscription, amongst the works of Augustus, the same temple is found registered with the other edifices of the Capitol, "*Ædes, in Capitolio, Jovis, Feretrii, et Jovis Tonantis.*"

Also in the well known almanac referred to by *Muratori*, in his treasury of ancient inscriptions, is the following:—

"*D. K. Sept. N. Jovi. Tonanti. in Capitolio.*"

Nor does the description referred to in the catalogue of Vittor, "*Aedis Jovis Tonantis ab Augusto dedicata in clivo Capitolino,*" repel the opinion that this temple stood *in* the Capitol; for, if it stood *in* the Capitol, it also stood *on* the hill of the Capitol.—C.

placed in the Roman Forum. Besides, we have already proved, that the three columns above-named belonged to the Temple of Vespasian, which, together with that of Concord, were situated behind the statue of Domitian, erected in the Forum. As it is known by Dion, and by Suetonius in particular, that the Temple of Jupiter Tonans was on the way that led to the great Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, since Augustus wished that his edifice should serve as a kind of entrance to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus ; it may be decided that it was situated on the area that extends midway from the Clivus Capitolinus towards the Tarpeian rock, where there remain some ruins of a large edifice. To the portico that served as an enclosure of the said temple, must have belonged those Corinthian travertine columns, several blocks of which have been found in the area lately excavated in front of the portico of the Twelve Dii Consentes, since these relics are better adapted to the architecture of a portico than to any other fine edifice.

Tabularium.—In the Intermontium there exist considerable remains of a large edifice, situated under the senatorial palace, which are commonly acknowledged to have belonged to the ancient Tabularium, in which were kept some parts of the tables relating to the public acts, as appears by an inscription found there. This edifice, in the part turned towards the Forum Romanum, and above the Temples of Jupiter Tonans and of Concord, was formed of a portico evidently disposed into two stories. The first is supposed to have served as a public atrium, mentioned by Livy on the occasion of its having been struck by lightning ; and the second was

dedicated to the library, called, from its locality, the Capitoline Library, which is frequently named in the writings of the ancients. Here must also have been the Athenæum, or place destined to the study of the liberal arts. In the fragment of the ancient plan, xxvi, is the indication of the Intermontium, with a small part of the building that was situated on it, which must evidently have extended to beneath the north side of the rock.*

Temple of Vejovis.—We are informed by Dionysius, that in the Intermontium there was a spot called the Asylum, with two woods or groves, in the middle of which Vitruvius places the Temple of Vejovis. Like the Temple of Castor situated in the Flaminian Circus, it was considered by the same writer as participating in its form of the arrangements of other kinds of Temples.†

The Citadel.—On the southern summit of the Capitoline hill, as above-mentioned, stood the rock or citadel raised there from the time of Romulus, which was also called the Tarpeian rock or hill, from the virgin Tarpeia, well known in the history of the war between the Romans and Sabines. This rock must necessarily have

* Poggius, the Florentine, in his “Vicissitudes of Fortune,” declares he read in his day, on the Portico of the Tabularium, the following inscription, which is confirmed by Nardini:—

Q. LVTATIVS. Q. F. Q. N. CATVLVS. COS

SVBSTRVCTIONEM. ET. TABVLARIVM. S.

FACIENDVM. COERAVIT.

C.

† Temple of Vejovis, or Vejupiter, means Young Jupiter, without a beard and thunderbolt—

“Una nota est Martis Nonis : sacrata quôd illis,
Templa putant lucos Vejovis ante duos.”

OVID., *Fasti.*—W.

been surrounded with solid walls, situated at a greater or less elevation, as the form of the rock permitted. Under the Caffarelli Palace, there exist some few remains of large ancient walls, that seemed to have formed part of this enclosure; and Venuti informs us that in his time great quantities of these walls were destroyed, which were twenty-five palms in thickness, and were built of large peperino stones. The same writer further observed, that these walls had been adapted to the shape of the rock, leaving however little apertures where the rock was found wanting. At the principal entrance of the enclosure, placed round the rock, evidently stood a large edifice, built on the model of the Grecian propylei; and to this, or to some other edifice adjoining it, must have belonged the remains of the large marble pilasters and capitals found behind the Conservatori Palace, as noted in the Memoirs of Flaminius Vacca.

Curia Calabra.—The most accurate topographers generally agree in placing on the above rock the Curia Calabra, in which the Minor Pontifex, after having observed the new moon, announced to the people assembled there, the number of days that intervened between the Calends and the Nones. The form of this Curia seems to me to be marked in the fragment of the Capitoline plan under LX., that which Bellorio, adopting the opinion of Bufalini, imagined to have represented the Temple of the Capitoline Jove with that of the Guardian Jove. My opinion is founded on the square form assigned to the stone of the larger edifice, which is well adapted to that of a Curia; and from other things designed on the said stone, which are well suited

to represent the southern enclosure of the Tarpeian, with the long steps, called the hundred steps, which met there; and about the summit of these steps it is indicated that there stood an arched door.

Temple of Juno Moneta.—The other edifice of minor size, designed on the fragment of the ancient plan of Rome next to the Curia Calabra, seems to have been the Temple of Juno Moneta, that was built on the same rock, since at this position it was precisely near the end of the hundred steps, which, with some deviation, probably reached the lower part of the Clivus Capitolinus, where the Temple of Concord stood, as proved by Ovid in his well known verses of the Fasti, regarding the divinity to whom the latter temple was consecrated. To this same edifice must have belonged the fragment of the Capitoline marbles, marked xxvii.; since on it are seen the first letters of the word Moneta; and besides it represents an edifice closed around by various shops for the money-coiners, which must have been the above-named edifice destined for the Mint.*

Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.—On the other summit of the Capitoline, now occupied by the church of S. Maria in Aracœli, stood the celebrated temple dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and named Capitoline, from the head found in laying its foundations. Dionysius Halicarnassus, more than any other writer, makes us acquainted with the position and form of this temple. He states that it was based on a height, the

* Juno had several names, from her various offices, as Pronuba, Lucina, Moneta.—W.

circuit of which was eight *plectri*; that each of its sides was nearly two hundred feet, with the slight difference of fifteen feet less between the length and breadth—and these proportions, adopted when Tarquin built the temple, had been preserved, when, after its conflagration, it was rebuilt in a grander style of architecture; so that the second construction differed from the primitive only by the greater value of the materials. On the part of the façade that looked to the south, was a portico, formed of three rows of columns; and on the sides the porticoes were composed of two rows only. The temple was divided into three parts, by parallel walls common to each. One of these parts was dedicated to Jupiter, the other to Juno, and the third to Minerva; and a single roof following the same frontispiece covered the whole. There are no distinct remains of this temple existing; but the walls in the middle part of the Aracoeli Church, seem to have preserved their direction. But as the front of the temple must have been turned towards the south, it was situated in the cross of the above-named church. Around this side of the hill, both under the Franciscan Convent towards the east, and on that of the Via della Pedacchia, are found, however, though partly covered by modern buildings, remains of the walls that formed the enclosures round the temple, and supported at the same time the flat part of the hill on which the temple was situated.*

* Capitolium—a capite hominis ibi reperto dum foderent fundamenta—formerly called Mons Tarpeius. On it stood the Citadel of Rome hereafter described. The Temple of Jupiter, for which it was remarkable, was begun by Tarquinius Priscus, and finished by Tarquinius Superbus. About 400 years after its dedication it

Temple of Jupiter Conservator.—The back part of the above-named Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, not being girt, as ascertained from the description of Dionysius, by the portico as the other sides, I am led to believe that on this spot stood another edifice, and probably the Temple of the Preserving Jove, built by Domitian, over the house of the *Æditui*,* of the above-named Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which must have been nearly joined to it, as the same emperor took refuge there when the Capitol was taken by the soldiers of Vitellius. Of many other temples known to have been on the Capitoline, as precise information is wanting to ascertain their true situation, we shall omit any mention of them, and proceed to describe those that were comprised in the ninth region, which was the most extensive among the divisions of the city already mentioned.†

was burned down; but Sylla began to rebuild it, and Quintus Catulus finished it.—LIVY, x.

It was again burned down in the civil wars between Vitellius and Vespasian—(Tacitus, *History*)—and rebuilt with great splendour by Domitian.—(Statius, *Sylv.*)

The gifts lavished on the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus almost exceed belief. Suetonius tells us Augustus gave at one time 2,000 pounds weight of gold, and precious stones, of immense value. Sylla removed to it from Athens, out of the Temple of Jupiter Olympus, brazen thresholds and rich pillars. The roof was gilt, and the interior was adorned with gilded shields, and with others of solid silver; it contained a golden chariot, and a profusion of treasures. Domitian expended 12,000 talents in the gilding of it; wherefore Plutarch observed of that emperor, that he was like Midas, desirous of turning everything into gold.—W.

* Those who took care of the Temples.—W.

† This eighth region, which, aided by our learned topographers,

we have examined, contains some of the choicest monuments of Ancient Rome. From the arches, columns, and temples, of such exquisite design and execution, which remain, we may form some conception of what the architectural splendour of Rome was in the day of her magnificence and power. The learned traveller will find ample materials in the investigation of the contents of this single region to engage the delightful labours of weeks.

REGION IX.

FLAMINIAN CIRCUS.

1. Theatre of Marcellus.—2. Portico of Octavia.—3. Temple of Hercules.—4. Ancient Temple of Apollo.—5. Temple of Bellona.—6. Granaries of Minutius.—7. Temple of Hercules Custos.—8. Portico of Philip.—9. Theatre of Balbus.—10. Theatre of Pompey.—11. Portico of a Hundred Columns.—12. Arch of Tiberius.—13. Curia of Pompey.—14. Corinthian Portico of Octavius.—15. Pantheon of Agrippa.—16. Baths of Agrippa.—17. Lake of Agrippa.—18. Baths of Nero.—19. Aqueduct of the water, called Virgine.—20. Temple of Juturna.—21. Basilica of Matidia.—22. Basilica of Marcian.—23. Portico of Pola.—24. A Palace, so named.—25. Temple of Isis.—26. Temple of Serapis.—27. Temple of Minerva.—28. Temple of Minerva Calcidica.—29. Portico and Temple of Neptune.—30. Portico of Meleager.—31. Temple of Antoninus and Column of Aurelius.—32. Column of Antoninus.—33. Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus.—34. Portico of Europa.—35. Arch, so called.—36. Solar Clock of Augustus.—37. The Mausoleum of Augustus.—38. Cæsarian Pile.—39. Sepulchre of Agrippa.—40. Gardens of Domitian Family.—41. Gardens of Lucullus.—Places described in the book, and not on the map:—Temple of Neptune.—Campus Martius.—Temple of Mars.—Circus Agonalis.—The Septa.—The Equirium.—The Lesser Campus.—Domitian Sepulchre.

IN the space occupied by the ninth region, called the Flaminian Circus, from the circus known under the same name which it contained, is now situated the greatest part of the buildings of Modern Rome. This region had a greater extent than those hitherto described, since its circuit was determined by Victor at 30,500 feet, and by the Notitiæ at 32,500; and it was

wholly situated beyond the enclosure of the walls of Servius, embracing in its circuit the celebrated Campus Martius. It is also to be observed that there were three principal directions given to the ancient buildings erected in this region. Those situated about the centre towards the Campus Martius, were placed scientifically along the southern line, those in the direction of the eighth region, at the site properly called the Flaminian Circus, bent a little towards the east, and those situated on the side of the seventh region followed the direction of the Via Lata, or of the modern Corso.

The Flaminian Circus.—This circus, which gave its name to the region, was built, according to Festus, by that Flaminius who was killed at the Battle of Thrasymene against Annibal, and was situated in the fields which evidently were previously known by the name of Flaminian. Fulvio and Ligorio (as in their days there existed considerable remains of this circus) were able to determine its situation in the part of the region near the base of the Capitol, and it was described by them as having commenced in length from the Piazza dei Marzani, and to have reached the Calcarara fountain near the house then owned by Lodovico Mattei, which formed the beginning of the circus, and in breadth to have been situated between the tower called Citranzuli and the BOTTEGHE OSCURE. The part of the circus best preserved at that time was exactly at the house of the Mattei, where a great part of the foundations were excavated, in which were found, amongst other things, a marble slab in the shape of a frieze, with boys placed in cars occupied in the games of the circus. It was

also ascertained that the soil of the circus was formed of clay and broken bricks, united with great solidity. In a fragment of the ancient map of Rome, VIII., the simple indications of the circus is noted.

Theatre of Marcellus.—Between the spot occupied by this circus and the river, there still exist the splendid ruins of the theatre built by Augustus, and named after his nephew Marcellus. On the same spot existed the temple consecrated to filial piety by Caius Quintius and Marcus Attilius, consuls, in commemoration of the celebrated example afforded in a daughter's love for her aged parent, known under the denomination of Roman charity. The stage of this theatre was towards the Tiber, but no remnant of it now exists, though a portion of it is marked in a fragment of the map of ancient Rome (xxx.). On the ruins of the Cavea stands, in a great part, the Orsini Palace.

Portico of Octavia.—On the same side of the Flaminian Circus are the ruins of the portico of Octavia, raised by Augustus to his sister Octavia. Within the space limited by this portico, were two temples, one dedicated to Jupiter, the other to Juno, as represented in the marble map of ancient Rome (xxix.), which represents this building nearly entire. By what may be deduced from Velleius Paterculus, it appears, that both these temples, with their respective porticoes, that is the peristyles, were built by Metellus Macedonius. In front of the temples stood the equestrian statues brought by Metellus from Macedon, and the basement of these statues is marked in the said fragment of the ancient map of Rome. Near S. Angelo, in Pes-

caria, exists the middle part which formed the principal entrance to the interior of the portico, and is composed of six columns in the two fronts; along the Via di Pescaria are several columns which composed the south side of the portico. Over the middle part still exists the inscription, given in the note, which shows that the building was restored by Septimius Severus or Caracalla, after having been partly destroyed by fire.* In one of the adjoining houses are three columns of the Temple of Juno, and a small part of the cella of the Temple of Jupiter, along the street of the Tribune of S. Maria in Campitelli. The use of this portico, by reason of its vicinity, was evidently to shelter the spectators at the theatre of Marcellus in case of bad weather. It is mentioned by Pliny that in this portico stood the schola and curia of Octavia. In the ancient map of Rome this schola appears to be marked at the posterior part of these temples, semicircular in shape as better suited to its use. The two quadrangular figures marked at the end of this semicircular part must evidently have represented,—one, the curia, the other, the library which Plutarch and Dion state were built by Octavia in honour of Marcellus, and were burnt under Titus.†

* IMP. CAES. L. SEPTIMIUS . SEVERUS . PIVS.

PERTINAX . AVG. ARABIC . ADIABENIC . PARTHIC . MAXIMVS.

TRIB. POTES. XI. IMP. XI. COS. III. P. P. ET.

IMP. CAES. M. AVRELIVS . ANTONINVS . PIVS . FELIX . AVG. TRIB.

POTES. VI. COS. PROCOS.

INCENDIO . CONSUMPTAM . RESITVERVNT.

† The pillars and pilasters remaining of this portico, attest the magnificence and purity of the architecture in the Augustan age.

Temple of Hercules of the Muses.—Adjoining the portico of Octavia, in the above-mentioned fragment, is indicated on the ancient map of Rome, the Temple of Hercules of the Muses, said by Eumenius to have been raised by Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, in imitation of the Temple of Hercules Musagetes in Greece. In the same fragment this temple is represented with a portico round it, and of a considerable size, but no remnant of the edifice exists, so as to determine its real style of architecture.

Ancient Temple of Apollo.—The position of the most ancient Temple of Apollo, registered amongst the first edifices of the region in the regionary catalogues, is indicated by Asconius between the Forum Olitorium and the Flaminian Circus, or at a short distance from the portico of Octavius. In front of this temple was the fountain, or *lavacrum*, in which Lucius Catilina washed his hands, stained with the blood dropping from the head of Marius, as stated by Plutarch.

Temple of Bellona.—P. Victor registers, in this region, the temple of Bellona, and places it towards the Porta Carmentalis, adding that in front of it stood the Columna Bellica. In the verses of Ovid, however, it is placed at the back of the circus, that is behind the convex part of the edifice.* The position thus in-

The ruin is situated in the filthiest part of the modern city, the fish market.—W.

* “Prospicit a tergo summum brevis area circum,

Est ibi non parvæ parva columna notæ.

Hinc solet hasta manu belli prænuntia mitti

In regem et gentes, cum placet arma capi.”

OVID., *Fasti* v

dedicated is now partly occupied by the monastery of Tor de' Specchi, where, however, no remains of an ancient edifice are to be found. The Columna Bellica, from which the consuls were accustomed to hurl the spear towards the people against whom they wished to declare war, having stood before the said temple in the direction of the Porta Carmentalis, shews that it was situated towards the ancient way that led from the said gate to the circus. In this same temple, and not in any distinct building, the senate, it seems, was accustomed to assemble to receive the generals who triumphed, before their entrance into the city, as was also customary with respect to the adjoining Temple of Apollo, and for this reason the Temple of Bellona must have been of a considerable size, and have ranked amongst one of the most conspicuous edifices of this region.

Minutii Frumentari.—In a fragment of the map of ancient Rome, ix., are written the two first letters of the word BELLONA. It appears to me that in these may be recognised part of the indication of the Temple of Bellona just described, of which, however, no trace remains. But there is in this map a large space representing an edifice disposed in the form of ancient granaries, as they are delineated in other fragments of the same map; I am of opinion that these belonged to the Minutii Frumentari, or to the granaries, evidently so called from the name of Minutius, who built them. The granaries were near the Temple of Bellona, on the western side of the Capitol.

Temple of Hercules Custos.—In the other part of the Flaminian Circus, by the verses of Ovid, following

those above cited,* it may be proved that the Temple of Hercules Custos was situated, from being registered amongst the first edifices of this region by Rufus and Victor.

Temple of Neptune.—Amongst the many temples said to have been situated round the Flaminian Circus, it is known, both from Livy and an inscription found on the spot, that there was one dedicated to Neptune,† but its precise situation cannot be determined.

Portico of Philip.—At a short distance from the Portico of Octavia and the Temple of Apollo Musagetes, and adjoining the Church of S. Maria in Cacaberis, are various ruins of an ancient portico, by which Serlio, from the great quantity remaining in his time, was enabled to represent the entire formation of the edifice. That this had been the Portico of Philip, registered by Rufus and Victor after the Temple of Hercules Magnus, is now generally admitted by antiquarians. In support of this opinion it may be inferred, from the verses of Martial, that the portico was near the Temple of Hercules.‡ This vicinity, in fact,

* “Altera pars circi custode sub Hercule tuta est.

Quod deus Euboico carmine munus habet.”

OVID., *Fasti*, vi.

† The inscription is thus given by Marliano:—

ABSCANTIO . . AVG. LIB. AEDITVO.

AEDIS . NEPTVNI . QVAE . ES

IN . CIRCO . FLAMINIO . FLAVIVS.

ASCANIVS . ET . PALLANS

CAES. N. SER. ADIVTOR . A. RATIO

NIBVS . PATRI . PISSIMO . FEC.

‡ “Vites censeo porticum Philippi
Si te viderit Hercules, peristi.”

MARTIAL., v. 50.

agrees with the locality, while the Portico of Octavia might serve as a shelter against bad weather for the spectators at the theatre of Marcellus; this portico might be applied to the same use for the spectators at the theatre of Balbus, (which stood in the vicinity), being exactly behind the stage. The fragment of the Capitoline maps, marked XII., contains a part of the said portico.

Theatre of Balbus.—Along the north side of the Portico of Philip extended the stage of the theatre, built in a style of great magnificence by Cornelius Balbus, at the instigation of Augustus, and which took his name. There remain but few traces of this theatre in some houses situated under the Cenei palace on the banks of the Tiber, and in the elevation of the soil produced by its ruins. From these indications it seems to be settled that the cavea was on the side of the river, differing in this respect from the theatre of Marcellus, which was situated on the opposite side. To this locality, subject still to be overflowed by the Tiber, is well adapted what Dion wrote respecting the inundation that occurred when the spectacles were given on occasion of the dedication of this theatre, which could then be reached only by boats. The Portico of Philip, being situated behind the stage, evidently served as a shelter to spectators in times of rain, as stated above. In a fragment of the ancient map of Rome, x., is inscribed the indication of a theatre, and as, by common consent, it is admitted that three theatres only existed in Rome, and as in the said fragments there are marks of the other two, those of Marcellus and Pompey, it

may be inferred that this indication denotes the theatre of Balbus.

Theatre of Pompey.—The first theatre erected in Rome of solid stone construction, was that of Pompey, raised with the greatest magnificence at a short distance from the Flaminian Circus, towards the Campus Martius, of which there exist sundry ruins, somewhat disjointed from each other, but yet quite sufficient to enable us to conceive the entire form of the edifice. In the examination of these remains I employed great diligence, in company with several learned persons, and found them in greater number than those that were previously known. With the help also of the large fragment of the ancient map of Rome, xi, in which the shape of this theatre is designed, I have been able to form an idea of the whole structure. From the situation of the ruins that remain of this theatre under the Palazzo Pio, in the adjoining houses, and in the buildings situated along the Via del Paradiso, it appears that the cavea of the theatre was certainly turned towards the east, and the edifice altogether in the southern direction of the ancient buildings of the Campus Martius. Under the part of the Pio palace, situated near the Piazza Campo di Fiore, I was the first to recognise some remains of the substructures made to support the temple which Pompey, in order that the great expense attending the construction of the theatre should serve a pious purpose, built in the centre of the upper part of the cavea, and that the seats of the theatre were made to serve as steps to the Temple, which thus commanded all parts of the building, and was dedicated

to Venus Victrix* The position of this temple is also confirmed by what is represented in the fragment of the Capitoline map. Behind the stage stood, as prescribed by Vitruvius, the portico to serve as a shelter in times of rain. A part of this portico is designed in the fragment where it is divided into two parts by four rows of columns, between which were planted groves, as prescribed also by Vitruvius, and more clearly in this respect by some verses of Propertius.† It appears by these same verses that between some plane trees there was a fountain with a Triton casting out water; that there were also marble works representing wild beasts is proved by Martial; and by the succeeding verses of the same writer it is shewn there were two groves in this portico.‡ All that I have been able to ascertain relating to it is, that some broken columns of white or black granite have been found, and one of these of considerable length was lately discovered in laying the

* The following inscription proves that Pompey's Theatre was restored by Honorius and Arcadius:—

DD. NN. ARCADIUS . ET . HONORIUS . PERPETVI . AVGG.
THEATRVM . POMPEI . EXTERIORE . AMBITV . MAGNA
ETIAM . INTERIORI . VIRTUTE . CONVLSVM . SVBDVCTIS.
ET . EXCITATIS . INVICE.

C.

† “ Scilicet umbrosis sordet Pompeia columnis
Porticus, aulæis nobilis Attalicis :
Et creber pariter platanis surgentibus ordo
Flumina sopito quæque Marone cadunt,
Et leviter Nymphis tota crepitantibus urbe,
Cum subito Triton ore recondit aquam.”

PROPER., ii. 32.

‡ “ Inde petit centum pendentia tecta columnis
Illinc Pompeii dona, nemusque duplex.”

MART., ii. 14.

foundation of the new house situated opposite the Argentina theatre, where I also saw a part of the wall built of the same reticular work employed in the other parts of Pompey's theatre, which must have belonged to the enclosure of the portico. To this edifice seem also to have belonged the numerous pieces of cornices, the broken columns and capitals found under the Palazzo della Valli, in the times of Pius IV., and the other objects of antiquity discovered in laying the foundation of the adjoining church at S. Andrea.

Portico of a Hundred Columns.—In another fragment of the same map of Rome, No. XI, I found the lines of the said portico continued, following the back part of the stage of Pompey's theatre, adjoining which was the indication of the other celebrated portico composed of a hundred columns, and for this reason called by the ancients Hecatonstylon. The situation of the latter portico, near that of Pompey, is proved by what is mentioned in ancient authors on this subject, and especially by the verses of Martial above-cited.

*Arch of Tiberius.**—Near the theatre of Pompey stood also, according to Suetonius, the arch raised by Claudius in honour of Tiberius; and this, in the above-named fragment of the ancient map relative to the theatre of Pompey, seems to have been half indicated in the part situated on the right side of the theatre.

Curia of Pompey.—In front of the theatre of Pompey stood, as related by Appian, the curia in

* "Tiberio marmoreum arcum juxta Pompeii Theatrum, decretum quidem olim à senatu, verum omissum peregit."—Suetonius in *Claudio*, 11.—W.

which Cæsar was killed by the conspirators, at the base of Pompey's statue. This curia was probably situated in the part facing the theatre, turned towards the cancellaria, the well-known statue of Pompey having been found there. Although, as stated by the same Appian, this statue was placed by Augustus under a marble arch, it may be supposed that this arch, being evidently situated near the curia, was in the proximity of Pompey's buildings. Thus the different opinions expressed relative to the situation of this edifice may agree in fixing it as united with Pompey's theatre.

Corinthian Portico of Cn. Octavius.—On the opposite side of the theatre must have stood the Portico of Cn. Octavius, which Festus, in order to distinguish it from the one of the same name raised by Augustus to his sister Octavia, stated to have been near to Pompey's theatre; and Pliny described it as double, and being called Corinthian, from the bronze capitals of the columns. The few ancient ruins lately found in rebuilding the shops situated along the Via dei Guippona, near the Piazza Campo di Fiore, seemed to have belonged to this portico. The situation of these ancient edifices agrees with what is stated by Velleius Paterculus, that the theatre of Pompey was surrounded by large buildings.

Campus Martius.—The edifices hitherto described are those that belonged to the part of the region properly called the Flaminian Circus, which, with the exception of Pompey's Theatre, were all situated in the direction of that circus. Those that were situated in the part of the region called Campus Martius, will

be treated of hereafter. Strabo has described the celebrated Campus Martius: he states,—

“That many of the magnificent works that adorned Rome were placed in this field which, besides the amenity naturally afforded by the soil, was decked with artificial ornaments. Its admirable size afforded space to immense multitudes, for horse and chariot races, for the games of the circus and pugilistic exercises. The buildings that surrounded it, its perpetual verdure, the hills that crowned it on the opposite side of the river, presented a view from which the stranger could with difficulty detach himself. Near this field was another surrounded with many porticoes, sacred groves, three theatres, an amphitheatre, sumptuous temples united to each other, thus conveying the idea that it was an addition to the city itself. For this reason the Romans, reputed the spot highly sacred, raised in it tombs to the most illustrious men and women, amongst which the most celebrated was the one called the Mausoleum, built on an elevated base of white stone near the banks of the river.”

This description, it would seem, may be considered as divided into three parts. In the first, Strabo described the Campus Martius, properly so called, where the Romans practised their various exercises, and this, it appears to be agreed, occupied the space which in breadth is between the Pincian hill and the Tiber, and in length extends between Monte Citorio and the Flaminian gates. In this locality the view embraces the Janicular and Vatican hills, which are beyond the Tiber. In the second part, Strabo describes the so-called Minor field, which is commonly assigned to the plain situated between the Tiber and the Circus Agonalis in breadth, and between Monte Giordano and the Cancelleria in length. In the circuit of this space

are found the porticoes of Octavia, Philip, and Cn. Octavius, the theatres of Pompey, Marcellus, and Balbus, indicated by Strabo to have been in this field, which, with the many other edifices described, formed, as it were, an addition to the city. Thirdly, Strabo considered the Campus Martius, in reference to its entire extent, as composed of the two fields he had described, as was frequently done by the ancients, and this space, considering it a sacred spot, he said was occupied by the tombs of most illustrious men. The centre of the Campus Martius indicated by Strabo, where the funerary pile stood, is known to have been near the church of S. Carlo al Corso, where, according to Herodian, the field was wider than in any other part.*

Temple of Mars.—In the interior of a house in the Via degli Specchi, there exist the foundations of an

* When we read the description of this famous locality, we are forcibly struck by the contrast between the healthy invigorating exercises of the ancient Romans, especially the nobility, and the listless womanish recreations of the present nobility and gentry of Rome.

This Campus Martius was so called, because it was consecrated by the old Romans to the God Mars. Here the young noblemen practised athletic exercises, and learned the use of arms, and the management of horses and chariots in the race. From the time of Augustus it was lined with splendid temples, arches, porticoes, and monuments. What magnificent structures were the Pantheon and Mausoleum of Augustus! Here also stood the Villa Publica, the palace for reception of ambassadors not allowed to enter the city. Several of the public Comitia were held in this field, near the Septa or Ovilia. The Campus Martius must, on the whole, have presented a most animating and entertaining spectacle. It is when we read the description of all the erections which stood on, or near this plain, so calculated for

ancient temple which I recognised as having belonged to the Temple of Mars, said, on the authority of Vitruvius, to have been built on the designs of Hermodorus Salaminus in the middle part of the Campus Martius, and which had in front a large altar dedicated to the same divinity.

Pantheon of Agrippa.—Amongst the most splendid edifices that adorned the Campus Martius, properly so called, those that were raised by Marcus Agrippa under direction of Augustus, were particularly worthy of notice, and amongst these was celebrated in the highest degree the large round temple dedicated to Jupiter Ultor, known under the name of the Pantheon, which is preserved nearly entire, having been consecrated at an early period to S. Maria della Rotonda. The front of this edifice is turned towards the north, and in a line with the front of the Mausoleum of Augustus. Before it extended a long area paved with travertine

martial exercises, that we can conceive the brilliant scene which must have presented itself to the eyes of Strabo when he visited Rome. The length of the Campus Martius, according to the boundaries given by Canina, namely, from Monte Citorio to the Flaminian Gate, *i. e.* from the modern post-office to the Porta del Popolo (which excludes the lesser field), is about three-quarters of an English mile, the *breadth* between the Pincian Hill and the Tiber, near the Porta del Popolo, is less than the eighth of a mile, but the breadth increases towards the Monte Citorio, the spot where the fine church of San Carlo stands, having been the widest part of the Field of Mars. It is instructive in walking through Rome to know with precision the boundaries of the most celebrated localities in the ancient city. The modern nobility lounge through the Corso in a very different fashion from that of their victorious ancestors, the priestly princes being singularly indisposed to the fatigue of manly exercises.—W.

stone, as has been ascertained by the remains found in rebuilding of late years the houses opposite the portico of the Pantheon towards the Maddalena church. The facts relating to the architecture of this celebrated monument are sufficiently known, and require no lengthened explanation here. It is, therefore, merely necessary to observe that the inscription, carved on the frieze of the pronaus, shows that it was raised by Marcus Agrippa in his third consulate,—

M. AGRIPPA . L. F. COS. TERTIVM . FECIT.

Subsequently other lines were added, stating, that the monument had been restored by the Emperors Septimius Severus, and Caracalla.*

The rich ornaments that adorned the temple have served to decorate many edifices erected in later times, yet this monument has still an air of majesty, and is universally admired for the beauty of its architecture, although it is in a great part obscured by modern buildings.

Thermæ of Agrippa.—To the back part of the Pantheon was united the large edifice of the thermæ which Agrippa was the first to establish in Rome, in imitation of the baths in common use amongst the Lacedemonians, for which reason, as stated by Dion, this gymnasium was at first called Laconicum. Subsequently these thermæ served as a model for the nume-

* IMP. CAES. L. SEPTIMIUS . SEVERUS . PIVS . PERTINAX.

ARABICVS . ADIABENICVS . PARTHICVS . MAXIMVS.

PONTIF. MAX. TRIB. POTEST X. IMP. XI. COS. III. P. P. PROCOS. ET.

IMP. CAES. M. AVRELIVS . ANTONINVS

PIVS . FELIX . AVG. TRIB. POTEST. V. COS. PROCOS.

PANTHEVM . VETVSTATE . CORRVPVVM . CVM.

OMNI . CVLTV . RESTITVERVNT.

C.

rous edifices of the kind built by several of the Roman emperors. Palladio, who was enabled to derive much information from the various remains that existed in his time, made some designs of the whole structure of these thermæ, which are united with those of the other Roman thermæ published by Burlington; and it is principally from these, after having previously visited the ruins that exist, that I have formed the plan of the central building in the large topographical map. Palladio, however, omitted to notice the ruins that exist at the spot called the Arco della Ciambella, which, from their position extending in the direction of the thermæ and their brick construction, strongly resembling that of the other ruins of the same edifice, seem to have formed part of the thermæ. The building to which these ruins belonged, according to the most exact researches I lately made, was, it may be presumed, joined to the thermæ. To these same thermæ, I also added the disposition of the building that formed its enclosure, like those of other ancient thermæ, as may be inferred from some ruins existing principally in the houses situated on the right side of the Minerva church towards the street called Piè di Marmo, and in the Minerva convent under the great refectory. That all the works which composed these thermæ were built at the same time is not to be supposed; but, evidently after they became public, great restorations and additions were made, especially at the time of Titus and Adrian, as proved by the stamps on the bricks found in the ruins, and particularly the one illustrated by Falconieri. Between the central building of the thermæ, and the

one that served as an enclosure, there were probably, in conformity with what is inferred from the disposition of the other thermæ of the ancients, the gardens and groves given to the people with the baths, by Marcus Agrippa, and which are registered by Rufus, together with the thermæ.

*Lake of Agrippa.**—These groves were near the lake or pond of Agrippa, where the sumptuous supper of Nero, prepared on a ship, took place, as stated by Tacitus, who observes that on this occasion even the neighbouring woods were illuminated. This lake, which seems to have been the same as the one registered by Rufus, under the name of lake of the thermæ of Nero, from its proximity to it, is generally placed near the church of S. Andrea della Valle as proved by the denomination given to this spot from the valley that evidently remained after its excavation. In this locality it seems by the disposition preserved in the modern buildings, that the lake, in the part turned towards the Circus Agonalis, was of a semicircular form; and, in fact, it is related by Venuti, that, in building the Massimi Palace, situated near the gate of the S. Pantaleon convent, large masses of travertine were found

* “Ipse quo fidem adquireret, nihil usquam perinde lætum sibi: publicis locis struere convivia, totâque urbe quasi domo uti. Et celeberrimæ luxu famâque epulæ fuere, quas a Tigellino paratas, ut exemplum, referam, ne sæpius eadem prodigientia narranda sit. Igitur in *Stagno Agrippæ* fabricatus est ratem, cui superpositum convivium aliarum tractu navium moveretur: naves auro et ebore distinctæ,” &c.—TACITUS, *Annal.*, xv. 37.

The Lake of Agrippa was in the gardens adjoining to his house near the Pantheon.—W.

ornamented with cornices, and cut in segments of a circle, which formed part of the semicircular enclosure that contained the said lake. It may also be supposed that here stood the Odeum, said by Suetonius to have been built by Domitian, and registered in the Catalogue of the Notitia of the empire.

Thermæ of Nero.—Contiguous to the Thermæ of Agrippa were those of Nero, and on account of the lake which was common to both they were nearly united. In their primitive state they do not seem to have been very large, and it was only to the private use of Nero that they served, by reason of the vicinity of the lake, since those of Agrippa had already become public. But it is evident that they were greatly extended by Alexander, by whose name they were subsequently known, and who also destroyed some of his private buildings, that stood in the vicinity to form a grove. Flaminio Vacca states that in his time many remnants of columns of Elba granite were found in the piazza S. Luigi dei Francesi, and three cups of a similar granite were discovered near the church of S. Eustachio, that probably belonged to these thermæ. Other large columns of these thermæ, found near the same church, were employed by Alexander VII. in substituting those that were wanting in the portico of the Pantheon. The church of S. Luigi, it is proved by various memoirs, was built on a hall of the said baths. All these discoveries, lead us to conceive a grand idea of the building that constituted these thermæ.

Circus Agonalis.—On the other sides of these thermæ stood the circus, registered in the regionary

catalogues under the denomination of Alexander, and known also by the name of Agonalis. The actual piazza Navona, a word supposed to be derived from Agon or Agonalis, preserves the precise form of this circus, and the houses that surround it are evidently built on the arched substructions that sustained the seats of the circus, remains of which are still visible under the church of S. Agnese. The carceres of the circus were turned towards Pompey's theatre, and the curvilinear part towards the Tiber, where the form is still preserved in the modern buildings. Neither the situation, nor form of this circus, can admit of doubt, although it is covered with modern buildings.

Aqueduct of the Acqua Virgo.—Agrippa, chiefly for the use of his thermæ above described, brought the Acqua Virgo from the grounds of Lucullus, by means of an aqueduct which, within Rome, began to be supported on arches under the gardens of Lucullus, and terminated along the front of the Septi. The arches of this aqueduct, commencing at the Lucullian gardens, passed along the space occupied by the seventh region, where some still exist, before they reached the Trevi fountain, though a great part was under ground. Along this space exists the well known inscription of Tiberius Claudius, who restored the aqueduct, where it had been destroyed by Caligula; not, as it appears to me, as in the opinion of many, to build his amphitheatre, which must have been nearer the Septi, but evidently to form the enclosures with boards for the public spectacles, for which reason it is stated by Dion that Caligula pulled

down several of the most remarkable buildings.* From the Trevi fountain the aqueduct proceeded to the Piazza Sciarra, where it probably crossed the ancient Via Lata over the arch, supposed to have been dedicated to Claudius, which was discovered under Pius IV., at the beginning of this piazza (XLVII.). Another large remnant of this aqueduct, decorated with marble columns, was found in laying the foundations of the *façade* of the S. Ignazio church, of which Donati made the whole design (XLVIII.). This latter part, being finely decorated, may be supposed to have formed the front of the principal reservoir of the aqueduct.

Temple of Juturna.—Near the principal reservoir of the Acqua Virgo, which, it has been seen, was at the spot now occupied by the *façade* of the church of S. Ignazio, must have stood the temple of Juturna, placed by Rufus and Victor in this region, near the Acqua Virgo, and this vicinity is further proved by the verses of Ovid.†

Basilica of Matidia.—Between the spot occupied by the reservoir of the Acqua Virgo and the Pantheon, was found, according to Donati, a part of the aqueduct, on which was an indication of the temple of Matidia, from which circumstance it was concluded to stand in the vicinity. This Temple, probably on account of its

* TI. CLAVDIVS. DRVSI. F. CAESAR. AVGVSTVS. GERMANICVS.
PONTIFEX. MAXIM. TRIB. POT. V. IMP. XI. P. P. COS. III. DESIGN. IIII.
ARCUS. DVCTVS. AQVAE. VIRGINIS. DISTVRBATUS. PER. C. CAESAREM
A. FVNDAMENTIS. NOVOS. FECIT. AC. RESTITVIT.

† “Te quoque lux eadem, Turni soror, æde recepit
Hic, ubi Virginea campus obitur aqua.”

OVID., *Fasti*, l.—C.

size, is registered by Victor under the denomination of Basilica.

Basilica of Marciana.—Under the name of Basilica is registered by the same Regionaries the other edifice, called Marciana, which may be supposed, from its denomination, to have been also a temple, and that it was near that of Matidia may be inferred from seeing them noted, one after the other, in the regionary catalogues. Thus the mother and daughter, since Matidia was the daughter of Marciana, the sister of Trajan, had temples near each other; and, in fact, the magnificence and grandeur with which they were built, as seen by the few ruins that remain, correspond to the style of architecture at the period of Trajan and Hadrian, under whom these two edifices seem to have been erected.

Septi.—As the arches of the aqueduct must have terminated along the front of the Septi,* according to the assertion of Frontinus, and knowing the point these arches reached to have been near the church of S. Ignazio, it may be decided that the front of these Septi

* The use made of the *septa* is thus explained in Kennett. The place appointed for the meeting of the people to hold their elections in, originally, was the Campus Martius; they went armed, lest they might be assailed, and armed men were forbidden to meet within the city. When assembled, the prerogative century being chosen by lot, the chief magistrate, from his tent in the middle of the Campus Martius, ordered that century to come out and vote, upon which they separated from the rest of the multitude, and came into an enclosed apartment, which they termed *septa* or *ovilia*, passing over the *pontes*, or narrow boards, laid there for the occasion, on which account, “*de ponte dejici*,” is to be denied the privilege of voting, and persons thus dealt with, are called *depontani*.—W.

was between that church and the Via del Corso. The Septa seem to have been for a long time surrounded by a simple palisade, and, for this reason, were called by the ancients *Ovilia*; but they were afterwards enclosed with porticoes and other buildings, which were at first suggested by Oppius and by Cicero, as proved by what the latter has written, viz., that he wished to enclose the Septa by a portico* a thousand paces long, in order to unite it with the Villa Publica. This work, however, was carried into effect only under Lepidus and Agrippa, as it appears from Dion that the Septa were dedicated by Agrippa in the eighth consulate of Augustus and Statilius Taurus. These Septa formed, according to the same writer, distinct enclosures in the Campus Martius, reduced by Lepidus into a solid fabric surrounded by porticoes, and adorned with marbles and paintings by Agrippa, from whom it received the name of the Julian Septa.

Amongst the valuable fragments of the ancient map of Rome, are those marked 1, in which a long portico is designed, surrounded with spacious buildings, and these, from the few letters that remain, are known to have belonged to the said Julian Septa. In comparing the position of this portico with that of the ruins existing under the Doria palace in the Corso, and the church of S. Maria in Via Lata, it was found that they both corresponded; thus, it may with some probability be

* “Cum privatis non poterat transigi minore pecunia efficiemus rem gloriosissimam, nam in Campo Martio *septa* tribunitiis comitiis marmoreo sumus et tecta facturi: eaque cingemus *excelsa porticu* ut *mille passuum conficiatur*.”—CICERO, *Epist.* l. iv 15.—W.

decided, that the Septa were situated along the western side of the above-named portico.

Portico of Pola.—The large portico which, from the ruins that remain and from the Capitoline marbles, was formed of seven naves, seems to me to have been the one that was only completed after the death of Agrippa, by his sister Pola, and was called Pola from that lady's name. This portico evidently extended as far as the church of S. Marco, on the side of which stands a part of the Palazzo di Venezia, built by Paul II. with galleries surrounding a garden on a terrace. It is ascertained that this palace was built on the pilasters of the arches that formed the seven naves of the portico, and the identity is further proved by the denomination given, in early times, to the church of S. Marco, of *juxta Pallacinis, or Palatinæ*, in which there is a great analogy to the word Pola or Polatina, applied to this portico.

Villa Publica.—Near the Septa was the Villa Publica, as may be inferred principally from the intention expressed by Cicero to add it to the Septa by means of the above-mentioned large portico, and that this villa was situated on the side of the Septa turned towards the Capitol is ascertained from the description of Varro, in which he states that he had waited in the Villa Publica, with Assius, for the candidate who was elected edile, in the adjoining Septa, to accompany him to the Capitol.* This villa was an edifice in which the Romans received the am-

* The contiguity of the above-described Villa Publica to the Septa, also called Ovilis, is proved by what Lucan has written of the terrible massacre of the four Marian legions, caused therein

bassadors of foreign nations, and was so called from being without the walls. Its form may be recognised in the large fragment of the ancient Capitoline map, in the last building composed of a portico enclosing an area, in which plantations of trees are indicated, and a part of it is marked in another small fragment, III.

Temple of Isis.—By the verses of Juvenal, it is proved that near the Septi stood the Temple of Isis, registered by the Regionaries under the name of Isium or Iseum.* Around the temple were the dwellings of the priests, where Vespasian and Titus passed the night preceding their triumphal entrance into the city.

Temple of Serapis.—After the Temple of Isis, that of Serapis, called Serapium or Serapeum, is registered by Victor and the Notitia. The situation of this temple is determined at the spot now occupied by the church of S. Stefano del Cacco, from the statue of Serapis, in Egyptian marble, found there, with two small obelisks, the two lions of basalt, now at the foot of the Capitol stairs, the statues of the Nile and of the Tiber, and other objects in the Egyptian style, which were dedicated to Serapis, as an Egyptian divinity. There were also found several yellow columns, still standing in their places, which could not be carried by Sylla, because it was said the sheepfolds of Rome, *i. e. the Ovilis*, were then stained with blood:—

“Tunc flos Hesperiae Latii jam sola juvenus
Concidit; et miseræ maculavit *Ovilis* Romæ.”

LUCAN., ii. 196.

* “A Meroë portabit aquas, ut spargat in æde
Isidis, antiquo quæ proxima surgit *Ovili*.”

JUVENAL., *Satir.* 6.

away, as they had been greatly damaged by fire ; and, in the last century, in laying the foundations of the convent of S. Stefano del Cacco, large pieces of cornices of a portico were also found. A part of the temple and buildings that stood near it is represented in a fragment of the ancient map of Rome, v, as proved by the inscription. It is to be observed, that these buildings must have lined the way, parallel with the Via Lata, which placed the middle part of the Campus Martius, in communication with the district nearest the Capitol, where the Via Publica existed, and extended along the southern side of the Septi enclosure.

Temple of Minerva.—In the same direction as the two above-named temples, must have stood that of Minerva, registered, in the catalogue of Victor, under the name of Minervium, and by Rufus styled the ancient, and having a grove. From its situation in the Campus Martius, it had also the surname of Campensis. The cell of this temple, composed of partition walls of a rectangular shape, lined with marble, and decorated with numerous ornaments, existed down to the time when Fulvio inhabited the convent of the Minerva, and, according to the statement of that writer, although nothing now exists, this temple was represented at this spot in the topographical map.*

Temple of Minerva Calcidica.—Another temple of

* Pliny has preserved the inscription which was placed by Pompey on the Temple of Minerva Campense :—

CN . POMPEIVS . MAGNVS . IMPERATOR . BELLO . XXX .
ANNORVM . CONFECTO . FVVIS . FVGATIS . OCCISIS .
IN . DEDITIONEM . ACCEPTIS . HOMINVM . CXXI . LXXXIII .
M . DEPRESSIS . AVT . CAPTIS . NAVIBVS . DCCCXLVI .

Minerva, of a small size, is stated, by Donati, to have been discovered in building the Roman college on the side corresponding in front of that of Isis. This temple may be determined as having been dedicated to Minerva, called Calcidica by Augustus, though its size was small. It is registered by Victor immediately after the other Temple of Minerva.

Portico and Temple of Neptune.—In the vicinity of the Septi must have been the portico built by Agrippa in honour of Neptune, on account of the naval victories he had gained, and decorated by him with a painting of the Argonauts; for which reason the portico was known among the ancients by the name of the Argonauts; and it is registered under this denomination by Victor and the Notitia. The temple consecrated to the same divinity must have been joined to the portico, as it is registered by Rufus, and marked in the abridgment of Dion and Spartianus, under the denomination of the basilica of Neptune. That this edifice, sacred to Neptune, was near the Septi, is inferred by observing that he who abridged Dion and Spartianus, (the one describing the buildings consumed in the fire which took place after the celebrated eruption of Vesuvius; the other, the restoration of the same buildings by Hadrian,) inserted it immediately after the Septi; and this proximity is mentioned also in the verses of Martial, in which, making his Selius pass from the portico of Europa to that of Neptune, he directed him to-

OPPIDIS . CASTELLIS . MDXXXVIII . IN . FIDEM . RECEPTIS.

TERRIS . A . MAEOTIS . LACV . AD . RVBRVM . MARE.

SVBACTIS . VOTVM . MERITO . MINERVAE.

wards the Septi.* As this portico was also known to the ancients under the name of Vipsania, from the circumstance that Agrippa who built it belonged to the Gens Vipsania, it is indicated by Martial as having been near a wet gate. This gate, as judiciously observed by Nardius, has been recognized as one of the arches of the Aqua Virgo Aqueduct, which terminated, as already stated, along the front of the Septi, on which ground this portico may be placed near the Septi. From all these reasons I was led to believe with Nardius, that to the Temple of Neptune belonged the eleven columns that now form the *façade* of the custom-house at the Piazza de Pietra; and this opinion has been still further confirmed by the researches recently made by me in company of some learned men, and of Fea, the late Commissary of Antiquities. This portico, one of the principal in the Campus Martius, must have been adorned with numerous marbles, and particularly with trophies and figures of subject provinces, as a large quantity of these sculptures and of ancient fragments were found at this spot, and from which this piazza was called Pietra.

Portico of Meleager.—After the portico of Neptune that of Meleager is registered, so that it seems to have been situated near that of Neptune, and evidently towards the Via Lata, since no other space in this vicinity is found to be unoccupied.

* Nil intentatum Seliis, nil inquit inausum
 Coenandum quoties jam videt esse domi.
 Currit ad Europen, et te, Pauline, tuosque
 Laudat Achilleos, sed sine fine pedes
 Si nihil Europe fecit, tum *Septa* petuntur."

MARTIAL, ii. 14.

Temple of Antoninus and Spiral Column of Marcus Aurelius.—Near the Temple of Neptune is the celebrated spiral column called after Antoninus, but known from its *bas reliefs* representing the war against the Marcomanni, to have been dedicated by the Senate to Marcus Aurelius, as is also proved by inscriptions found in 1777 on the Piazza di Monte Citorio, relating to the permission granted by the Emperors Septimius Severus and Clodius Albinus* to a certain Adrastus, a freed-man, to build at this spot a house at his own expense, in order to guard the column of Marcus Aurelius, called also CENTINARIA. These inscriptions were carved on an ancient door, which must have been that of the house of Adrastus; and this must have been situated about the centre of the building now forming the Post-office. Nor could this column have been connected with the temple existing in the Piazza di Pietra, as the position of the column is parallel with the buildings that were along the Via Lata, while the said temple was in the straight direction of the edifices situated in the Campus Martius. Wherefore the Temple of Antoninus which was united to the column, must have been situated in the direction of the Via Lata. On the four sides that enclose this column one alone remains unoccupied to situate this Temple of Antoninus—the one placed towards the Chigi Palace,—since on the side towards Monte Citorio, was the house of Adrastus above named; on the side towards the Capitol, a part of the Temple of Neptune, and on the side corresponding to the Piombino palace on the Corso, there was

* Clodius Albinus accepted for a time the precarious rank of Cæsar; he commanded the army in Britain, disputed the empire with Septimius Severus, and was defeated and put to death.—W.

the other edifice mentioned in the VII region. Around the area placed before the temple in which stood the spiral column, there seems to have been a portico disposed in the manner delineated on the topographical map.

Equiriæ.*—It is a common opinion that on the site now occupied by Monte Citorio, stood the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus; and Piranesi, having heard that some ruins of marble seats had been found when the adjoining house of the mission was built, imagined that this hill had been formed altogether of the ruins of the amphitheatre. The formation of this elevation of ground, is variously accounted for, but it is generally agreed that it is artificial. I cannot, however, admit that on it stood the amphitheatre of Taurus, because Strabo, in describing specifically the principal objects of the Campus Martius, placed in the minor field, together with three theatres, an amphitheatre, and that the latter was that of Statilius, is ascertained chiefly from the fact that in his time a single amphitheatre existed in the Campus Martius. The one commenced by Caligula was not then completed, and must have been nearer the Septa; that of Trajan was pulled down by Hadrian shortly after its construction. Carlo Fontana, having examined this locality, informs us that no sign was discovered of an amphitheatre. He states that he found Monte Citorio formed of various strata of rubbish to the depth of seventy-seven palms, that is, either pure earth and mortar, or broken vases and mixed substances, and it was thus ascertained this site was a deposit for rubbish and other refuse arising from the construction of the new edifices in the Campus Martius. If, then, Piranesi declared that considerable remains of seats had been

* The *Equiriæ* were games with horse-races, celebrated in the Campus Martius in honour of Mars.—W.

found, it does not follow there was an amphitheatre here, for similar ruins might have belonged to other edifices destined to the public spectacles. In examining the indications above stated, in order to decide to what edifice of the ancient Campus Martius had appertained the portico and the numerous seats discovered, I found that they could not well suit any other than the Equiriæ registered by Rufus and by Victor in this region, or the stadium destined for horse races. Although it appears, by some verses of Ovid, that, among the Romans, these races took place on the grass, this is no objection to my conception of the place having been subsequently surrounded by a building for the spectators, in the shape of a stadium. In fact, a stadium is found registered in the catalogue of the Notitia of the Empire, which contained thirty thousand and eighty spectators, and this could be neither the Flaminian nor the Alexandrine stadium, since it is under the name of circus that these edifices are registered in the other catalogues. We may also admit the vicinity of the Equiriæ to the river, as stated by Ovid. If also the denomination of Aquiro, preserved by the church of S. Maria, situated in the vicinity, is derived from the word Equiriæ, it would confirm the situation designated for this stadium.

The Antonine Column.—In the garden of the Mission house there was excavated, in the time of Clement XI., the large column of red granite, with its pedestal adorned with sculptures, and, from the inscription, it was ascertained that it had been dedicated to Antoninus Pius.* This column served afterwards to

* On the pedestal which supports the column was inscribed the

restore the solar obelisk now placed before the Curia Innocenziana, and its pedestal was sent to the Vatican gardens. These very important memorials were thus lost.

Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus.—The amphitheatre built by Statilius Taurus, at his own expense, in the Campus Martius, to represent the hunting of wild beasts, as stated by Suetonius in the life of Augustus, may be placed on the site of the present Monte Giordano; first, from the elevation existing there, which has evidently been produced by the ruins of some great building, and secondly, because this situation, forming part of the minor field, agrees with what is stated by Strabo in his description of the Campus Martius, where a similar amphitheatre must have stood.

Portico of Europa.—Between this amphitheatre and the Equiriæ, that is, in the vicinity of the church of S. Salvatore in Lauro, in the opinion of Nardius and Donati, stood the celebrated portico of Europa, taking principally into consideration the situation of this portico towards the west, as indicated by Martial, and this opinion was further confirmed by observing that the denomination, *in lauro*, had been preserved to the said church, and by the supposition that it was derived from the groves that existed in the middle of this portico, as stated by Martial. The four female draped figures that were found in the garden of S. Salvatore in Lauro probably apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina; and on the other side was the following inscription:—

DIVO . ANTONINO . AVGVSTO . PIO.

ANTONINVS . AVGVSTVS . ET.

VERVS . AVGVSTVS . FILII.

belonged to the decoration of this portico. I have, therefore, represented it in the suitable locality, divided into two parts by three double rows of columns, so as to leave room in the middle for the groves which, according to Martial, must have been divided into several parts.* This portico thus formed one of the most extensive and splendid edifices of the Campus Martius.

Arches of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius.—

At a short distance from this portico, towards the west, there was an arch dedicated to the Emperors Gratianus, Valentinian, and Theodosius, the ruins of which were found near the church of S. Celso, in the Via del Banco de S. Spirito, together with the dedicatory inscription in which mention is made of some porticoes called Maximi, which, from their vicinity, were probably those of the portico of Europa.

Campus Minor.—The edifices just described existed generally in the part of the Campus Martius called Minor, towards the east and north. Of those which completed the embellishment of this field towards the Tiber, where, according to the description of Strabo, there must have been principally sumptuous tombs, few traces remain. In the vicinity of the Circus Agonalis, towards the minor field, there were found, at sundry times, marble works of various kinds not yet finished, which led to the belief that this quarter was inhabited by sculptors and stone-cutters. Through the length of

* An delicatæ sole rursus Europæ
Inter tepentes post meridiem buxos,
Sedet, ambulatore liber acribus curis.

MARTIAL, iii. 6.

the minor field passed the triumphal way, which seems to have extended in a straight line from Pompey's Theatre to the Triumphal Bridge, following the direction indicated by the beginning of the Via del Pellegrino, and not of the Via Giulia as generally believed.

Solar Clock.—Amongst the monuments that occupied the middle part of the larger field, the principal one was the Obelisk, one hundred and sixteen feet high comprising the basis, which served as a gnomon to a large solar clock ordered by Augustus and executed with great ingenuity by the mathematician Manilius, who added a gilt ball to its summit. In this clock the length of the days and nights was determined by means of bronze lines enchased in a large stone stratum, which also marked the hours till the sixth hour, and the lengthening and shortening of the days. This clock was an object of admiration not only for the obelisk that had been brought from Hierapolis, a city of Egypt, together with the one that stood in the Circus Maximus, but for the great marble pavement which, as containing the indication of the first and last hours of the day, must necessarily have been of great extension. As there were lately found various slabs of travertine stone in laying the foundations of the house situated in the minor side of the Piazza de S. Lorenzo in Lucina, it seems probable that the pavement extended to this spot. The pedestal that sustained this obelisk was found at the place now occupied by the largest chapel on the west side of the church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, around which it was seen that there had been seven steps lined with marble, in which several metallic lines were en-

chased, and in the angles there were the figures of the four principal winds.* The obelisk was found at some distance from this place, under a house situated in the small Piazza del Impresa, as seen by the inscription placed there. It is now raised in the Piazza del Citorio, where it serves merely as an ornament.

Mausoleum of Augustus.—About the middle of the Campus Martius, in a line facing the Pantheon, stood the celebrated tomb raised by Augustus, when he was consul for the sixth time, between the Flaminian way and the Tiber.† It was built in a style of such magnificence, that it surpassed all other monuments of the kind that existed in the Campus Martius, and was called a mausoleum, in imitation of that of Mausolus, at Halicarnassus. There still remain considerable

* The inscription on the granite supporting this solar obelisk was the following:—

IMP . CAES . DIVI . F.
AVGVSTVS
PONTIFEX . MAXIMVS
IMP . XII . COS . XI . TRIB . POT . XIV
AEGYPTO . IN . POTESTATEM
POPVLII . ROMANI . REDACTA
SOLI . DONVM . DEDIT.

† Among the ruins of this great monument was discovered the cippus which stood in the court-yard of the palace of the Conservatori in the Capitol; and, from the following inscription, it is known that it was erected to support the cinerary vase of Agrippina, wife of Germanicus.

OSSA
AGRIPPINA . M . AGRIPPAE . F .
DIVI . AVG . NEPTIS . VXORI
GERMANICI . CAESARIS
MATRIS . C . CAESARIS . AVG.
GERMANICIS . PRINCIPIS.

parts of this celebrated monument, consisting in a double enclosure, of reticular construction, which parts were formed into a permanent amphitheatre in the first years of this century. This enclosure sustained the tumulus on which were planted the trees that reached to the top of the edifice, according to the description of Strabo. Around the middle part of the monument there was another wall, now entirely destroyed, or, at least, buried under ground, stated by early antiquarians to have been subdivided into numerous small cells, of a circular form. On the front turned towards the Pantheon was the principal entrance, formed by a small portico, on the sides of which stood the two obelisks raised, the one before the north side of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, and the other on the Piazza del Quirinale. At the back part, as stated by Strabo, there was a large grove, with beautiful walks, which, however, could not extend beyond the end of the Corso, or of the Via Ripetta, as other monuments existed in that quarter. In the part occupied by the grove was excavated the Naumachia in which Augustus had a naval engagement represented, and this Naumachia was different from the one that existed in the Trans-tiberium region, where the gardens of Cæsar were situated.

The Cæsarean pile.—At a short distance from the Mausoleum, and in the centre of the Campus Martius, there existed, according to Strabo, the pile where the body of Augustus was burned; it was enclosed by a wall of white marble, encircled with iron railings; the interior was planted with poplar trees. Near the church

of S. Carlo al Corso, there were found some *cippi*, with the names of several relations of the family of Augustus, indicating that they had been burnt there, which led to the conclusion that the Cæsarean pile was in this locality. This situation agrees with what is stated by Herodian, "it stood in the widest part of the Campus Martius."

Tomb of Agrippa.—Of the tombs which, according to Strabo, were raised to the most distinguished men in the Campus Martius, another only of large size existed till the times of Paul III., on the Piazza del Popolo when it was destroyed, and with the stones taken from this large mass, Flaminio Vacco was of opinion that the two towers situated beside the present Porta del Popolo were built. The position of this tomb, known by the name of Meta, is marked in Bufalini's map of Rome, at the place now occupied by the church of S. Maria del Popolo. It is not well ascertained to whom this tomb belonged, but considering its situation to be in the same direction with the Mausoleum of Augustus, and that it is of a similar style of construction, it would seem to be the tomb that by a special permission Agrippa raised to himself in the Campus Martius, which, however, did not contain his body, since he was buried by order of Augustus in the Mausoleum. Sylla had also raised a sepulchre for himself in the Campus Martius, but it seems to be indicated by the verses of Lucan, that it stood more towards the centre of this celebrated field.

*Gardens of the Domitii.**—On the top of the hill

* Canina reminds us that the sepulchre of the Domitian family, in which were deposited the ashes of Nero, was situated on the hill overhanging the Piazza del Popolo; and relates the tradition that the ancient church of S. Maria del Popolo was built at the expense of the Roman people near the sepulchre of the monster, to purify the place from the pollution.—*Vide* 2nd vol. "Italy in the Nineteenth Century," chap. 8; "Morning Walk in Rome."—W.

behind the church of S. Maria del Popolo, there were lately found, when this ground was laid out as a public walk, many foundations of a large building besides those that were already known, and that support the part of the hill towards the north side and a portion of the part to the east, which were altered to sustain the city walls. From the vicinity to the Sepulchre of the Gens Domitia, these ruins are supposed to have belonged to some gardens appertaining to that family.

Gardens of Lucullus.—Adjoining these gardens were those of Lucullus, celebrated amongst the ancients for their magnificence, and especially for the embellishments made by Valerius Asiaticus. Messalina, struck with their beauty, conspired against Valerius, and had him condemned to death by Claudius, in order to get possession of them.* These gardens were situated where the arches of the Acqua Virgo commenced, and as it is known that they commenced at the foot of the hill above the church of S. Andrea delle Fratte, the position of the Lucullan gardens may be fixed at the district now occupied by the houses placed along the *Via dei Due Macelli*, opposite the Propaganda Fide College and the Vie Gregoriana and Sistina. And there, particularly in

* The passage in the Annals is here given:—"Nam Valerium Asiaticum bis consulem, fuisse quondam adulterum ejus credidit: pariterque *hortis inhians*, quos ille a Lucullo cœptos insigni magnificentiâ extollebat, Suilium accusandis utrisque immittit."—TACITUS, xi. 1.

Valerius was not granted a public trial. "Neque data Senatus copia, intra cubiculum auditur, Messalina coram et Suilio." See the chapter on "Italy in the Nineteenth Century," 1st volume, on the Tuscan criminal law, wherein this mode of chamber-trial is referred to by the Tuscan jurist.—W.

By a singular and just retribution, this detestable woman met the death she deserved, in the gardens she had coveted and so

the Mignanelli palace, are seen sundry remains of walls of reticular construction, that formed the first story of the building annexed to these gardens. In an old passage, that, from the Piazza Mignanelli went under the Via Gregoriana, and finished at the beginning of the Via Sistina, there are other remains of ancient walls; this passage has been made through the very ruins of the building; and under the house, which I have inhabited for many years (formerly the Tomati palace), there still exists a room with the roof divided into squares, which certainly formed part of the buildings of Lucullus. Above this house, and under the highest part of the hill, are other remains of ancient edifices, and ruins were also lately found in rebuilding the house situated in the middle of the Via Gregoriana. It is thus ascertained that these gardens were distributed, agreeably to their position, into various terraces, disposed in succession one after another. Beyond the Convent of Trinita dei Monti there are some other ruins nearly dewickedly obtained. After the execution of her favourite, Messalina retired to the scene of her dissipation, and was there dispatched by orders of the freedman of Claudius.

“Interim Messalina Lucullianis in hortis prolatare vitam, componere preces, nonnulla spe, et aliquando irâ: tantâ inter extrema superbiâ agebat. Ac ni cædem ejus Narcissus properavisset, verterat perniciem in accusatorem. Ictu tribuni transfigitur.”

The effect produced on the mind of Claudius is graphically narrated by the historian.

“Nuntiatumque Claudio epulanti perisse Messalinam, non distincto, suâ an alienâ manu: nec ille quæsivit, poposcitque poculum, et solita convivio celebravit. Ne secutis quidem diebus, odii, gaudii, iræ, tristitiæ, ullius denique humani affectus signa dedit.”—TACITUS, *Ann.* xi. 38.—W.

faced, that may be supposed to have belonged to these gardens. In Bufalini's map of Rome, at the highest point of the hill, is the mark of a round edifice, which he called the Temple of the Sun, and it is registered under that denomination in the unedited tables of Fulvio in the Vatican Library, and it is well known to have been situated at the spot called the Parnassus, of what formerly was the Medici Villa.

It is related by Nardius, that in his time there was found under a house forming the corner of the Via Felice with the Porta Pinciana, a marble cornice, on the frieze of which there was an indication of the word Octavia, and this led him to conjecture that the gardens of Messalina having passed into the possession of her daughter Octavia, some monument had been erected to the latter at this spot. From all these discoveries, it is ascertained that these gardens occupied an extensive space, and contained very large buildings. There in fact must have existed those porticoes where Lucullus discoursed with the Greeks, who availed themselves of the use of his rich libraries; and the round building, known under the name of Temple of the Sun, was probably the hall of Apollo, in which he gave the sumptuous supper to Cicero and Pompey, as related by Plutarch.* The gardens of Lucullus, passing afterwards

* Lucullus having rested from the wars withdrew from public life, the vexations of which he had discovered and felt. He purchased, Gibbon reminds us, the villa of Marius, in Campania, which was then adorned by him with Grecian arts and Asiatic treasures. Lucullus had other villas, of equal though various magnificence, at Baiæ, Naples, Tusculum, &c. He boasted that he changed his climate with the storks and cranes. Lucullus was addicted to the

into the possession of the emperors, and in the first instance into that of Nero, must have acquired greater grandeur and magnificence; and to these were perhaps added the others described above, supposed to be those of the Domitii or of Pompey, since those of Lucullus alone are registered by the Regionaries in their cata-

Greek literature and philosophy: the learned Greeks in Rome flocked to his gardens and libraries as to the residence of the Muses. The passage referred to by Canina, in Plutarch's "Life of Lucullus," is subjoined:—

"His luxury was the common topic of conversation in the city. And when Cicero and Pompey saw him one day walking at leisure in the Forum, they went and joined him. Cicero was one of his most intimate friends; and though Pompey and he had been at variance about the command in the army, yet they frequently saw each other, and conversed with great civility. Cicero, after he had saluted him, asked him, 'If he would let them sup with him?' 'With all my heart,' replied Lucullus, and pressed them to name the day. 'This very evening,' said Cicero, 'we will go home with you, provided you give us no more than your own supper.' Lucullus at first would have evaded it, desiring them to put it off till the next day, which they refused. They would not so much as let him speak to any of his servants, for fear he would give orders to have something added. With much ado they allowed him to tell one of them, in their hearing, 'That he would sup in the Apollo,' which was the name of one of the best rooms in his house; and by that means he deceived them; for every room had its stated expense, its own bill of fare, and particular furniture; so that when the servants were once told in what room he would sup, they immediately knew what the supper was to cost, and in what manner everything was to be prepared and regulated. His suppers in the Apollo were stated at fifty thousand drachmas; and that was the sum laid out on that day's entertainment; so that Pompey was surprised not only at the expense, but at the shortness of time wherein it was prepared. Thus wantonly and riotously did Lucullus employ his wealth, treating it, like what indeed it was, a captive and a barbarian."—W.

logues. According to this supposition, it is reasonable to believe that Nero was buried near his imperial possessions, without destroying the established opinion that they had previously belonged to Pompey. In some part of these gardens of Lucullus evidently resided Pincius, the senator, from whom seems to be derived the denomination of Pincian, given to this hill in the latter times of the Roman empire. The front part of the hill, on account of the numerous gardens possessed there by the most celebrated Romans, was commonly called *Collis Hortulorum*, and formed the most agreeable part of this region ; while the part situated in the plain was the most sumptuous, from the great public edifices it contained.

This district latterly described forms a part of that known in modern Rome as the English quarter. I resided in a house which must have stood on one of the terraces of the gardens of the luxurious Lucullus. The ground is naturally favourable to the construction of terraces, and the view from the summit of the hill is always delightful,—at sunset, splendid. It seems to have been a favourite place of recreation with the Romans in all ages, and is now perhaps even more so than in the latter days of the Republic. I have frequently had occasion to remark how scanty the knowledge possessed by visitors in Rome concerning the spot they dwell in, with reference to the topography of the ancient city. Yet the great interest of a sojourn in Rome consists (one would suppose) in gaining some degree of

knowledge concerning the wonderful and famous city which ruled the world. We have now surveyed the region which contained the most striking monuments of Ancient Rome, the few remains of which still impress the mind of the beholder with astonishment. We must not however rashly suppose these extensive and costly gardens added to the happiness or comfort of the people; on the contrary, it may be believed they ministered only to the luxuries of the rich, depriving the mass of the inhabitants of all space for wholesome habitations, and crowding them into narrow and repulsive dwellings. This hill we have referred to was first called Collis Hortulorum or Hortorum, from the celebrated gardens of Sallust adjoining it. Then it was called Pincius, from the noble family of the Pincio who resided in it. The Emperor Aurelian it was who enclosed it within the walls of Rome—the Collis Hortulorum being outside the walls of Servius.—W.

REGION X.

PALATIUM.

1. Temple of Jupiter Stator.—2. Temple of Ramnusia.—3. Principal Entrance to the Palace.—4. Greek and Latin Library.—
5. Temples of Cybele, of Bacchus, and of Juno Sospita.—
6. House of Augustus.—7. Temple of Apollo.—8. Temple of Conquering Jove.—9. Temple of Vesta Palatina.—10. Tiberian House.—11. Additional Building of Caligula.—12. Temple of Augustus.—13. Part of the Palace added by Nero.—
14. Palatine Baths.—15. Palatine Area.—16. Gardens of Adonis.—17. Temple of Pallas.—18. Septizonium of Septimius Severus.—Arch of Constantine in the Book (not on the Map).

THE tenth region occupied the whole of the Palatine hill, and derived its name from the palace that was situated on it. Its limits on the side of the Roman Forum and on that of the Circus Maximus are clearly fixed by the position of the edifices situated on the confines of the two regions. On the side towards the Esquiline this region probably extended as far as the Via Sacra, and on that towards the Coelian it evidently must have occupied the whole valley that divides the two hills, with some part also of the Coelian. The circumference thus attains the measure of 11,600 feet, assigned by the Regionaries. On the Palatine hill, which formed the principal part of this region, stood the primitive city, and subsequently, at the period of

Roman greatness, it contained the most magnificent buildings that it was possible to raise, and which formed the Imperial Palace. According to the plan of this work I will now indicate the position of the principal monuments it contained.

Temple of Jupiter Stator.—There were two principal approaches to the Palatine, one situated towards the Esquiline, the other towards the Capitol. From the latter we shall begin by examining the distribution of the edifices situated in this region. On this side, according to the opinion most generally admitted, stood the Porta Mugonia, and near it must have been the temple dedicated to Jupiter Stator, from the times of Romulus, as stated principally by Dionysius, and also by Ovid in his well known verses.* And as this temple must also have been near the house of Tarquinius Priscus, which, according to Livy, faced the Via Nuova that united the Roman Forum to the Velabrum, its situation may be established on the part of the hill above the S. Anastasia Church, and not far distant from the spot assigned to the Temple of Vesta, this vicinity being particularly indicated by Ovid in the verses preceding those above quoted. Near the place, where it may be decided on better evidence, stood the Porta Mugonia, some ruins of ancient buildings exist, which may be supposed to have belonged to the Temple of Jupiter Stator.

* “Hic locus est Vestæ, qui Palladis servat et ignem :

Hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numæ.

Inde petens dextram, porta est, ait, ista Palati :

Hic Stator : hoc primum condita Roma loco est.”

OVID., *Trist.* iii. 1.

Temple of Ramnusia.—On the ascent to the Palatine by the same side there was an ancient temple, the ruins of which were lately recognised by the architect Thon, and were supposed by Ballanti to have belonged to the Temple of Ceres, originally built by Evander, as stated by Dionysius; but as this temple is not registered either in the catalogue of Victor, or in the *Notitiæ*, from which it would appear that it did not exist at the time that these catalogues were prepared, I think it reasonable to recognise in these ruins the remnant of one of the temples registered in the said catalogues, amongst which it appears to me proper to select that of Ramnusia, which was probably of the same Doric architecture as the one consecrated to the worship of Nemesis* in Ramnunte, some remains of Doric triglyphs having been found in the ruins which prove the resemblance of the architecture.

Auguratorium and Mansion of the Salii.—On the same side must have been situated the Auguratorium, so called from the auguries that it was customary to take in them. In the catalogue of Victor it is registered shortly after the Temple of Ramnusia, and following after the Tiberian house, which is known to have been situated on the same side of the hill.† Near the same spot must have been the four stations for the

* Nemesis, was the daughter of Jupiter and Necessitas, who distributes rewards and punishments. She is said to be most angry with those who vainly boast of themselves, or speak in their own praise, whence such used to deprecate her displeasure. “Est dea, quam Nemesin dicunt. Dea magna potensque quæ bona cœlestium concessu cuncta deorum possidet.”—W.

† Grutero has transcribed the following inscription formerly

Salian priests, who were particularly deputed to the guard of the shield so greatly renowned. The situation of this college, instituted by Numa, on the same side of the hill, must have been near the house of Romulus, equally famous, though it consisted merely of a rustic cabin.*

Clivus Victoriæ.—The other principal access to the Palatine was by means of the *Clivus Victoriæ*, at the lower part of which stood the Roman Gate, according existing on the pavement of the Basilica of S. John Lateran, which proves the Auguratorium was rebuilt by Hadrian at his own expense:—

IMP. CAESAR. DIVI . TRAIANI
 PARTRICI . F. DIVI . NERVAE . N.
 TRAIANUS . HADRIANUS
 AVG. PONTIF. MAX. TRIB. POT. XX.
 IMP. II. COS. III. P. P.
 AVGVRA TORIVM . DILAPS.
 A. SOLO . PECVNIA . SVA . RESTITVIT.

* These Salii were priests of Mars instituted by Numa on the occasion of a pestilence in Rome, when the citizens are said to have been comforted by the fall of a brazen target from heaven. This fiction was improved on; and, in order to prevent the genuine shield from being stolen, eleven other shields were made so like the first, that nobody could distinguish the true shield from the counterfeits. Priests, called Salii, were then appointed to watch the shields and keep up the superstition, and in the month of March, or when war was proclaimed, these Salii carried the sacred shields through the streets, capering, dancing, and singing.

“Jam dederat Saliis (a saltu nomina ducunt)

Armaque, et ad certos verba canenda modos.”

OVID., *Fast.*

“Tum Salii ad cantus, incensa altaria circum,

Populeis adsunt evincti tempora ramis.”

VIRGIL.

“Nunc Saliaribus

Ornare pulvinar deorum

Tempus erat dapibus.”

HOR. *Od.*—W.

to the explanation given of this name by Festus. This hill, with the buildings that stood on its sides, is marked in the interesting fragment of the ancient map of Rome, No. XLVII, which shows the epoch when this map was executed. The representation on this is well adapted to the locality on the slope of the hill towards the Esquiline, and near it must have stood the Temple of Victory, which gave its name to this hill.

Principal Entrance to the Palace.—On the same side of the hill, and near to the arch of Titus, it is generally admitted, was the principal entrance to the palace after the destruction of the one built with the greatest magnificence by Nero. In fact there exist many remains of a building which, about half the ascent, are proved to have belonged to a hall that evidently served as a vestibule. To reach this, and afterwards the upper part of the hill, there must have been large steps, of which some traces remain in the walls that sustained them. It is on the upper part of this great vestibule, which formed a noble entrance to the palace of the Cæsars, that I have recognised (as having belonged to it) what is marked on the fragment of the ancient map of Rome under No. II.

*Greek and Latin Library.**—On the upper part of this side of the hill there exist interesting ruins of the

* “Templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinæ domus excitavit, quam fulmine ictam desiderari a Deo haruspices pronuntiârunt. Addita Porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Græcaque, quo loco jam senior sæpe etiam senatum habuit decuriasque judicium recognovit.—SÜETONIUS in *Augusto*, xxix.

This was in the year 726, and to the dedication of this temple is to be referred the celebrated passage in Horace,

celebrated Greek and Latin Library, built by Augustus, in which, when advanced in years, he frequently assembled the senate. It is evident that it was composed of a very large hall in the middle, and a smaller one on the side. The Latin Library must have been placed in the principal hall, in which was the great bronze statue of Apollo, fifty feet high, from which was clearly derived the appellation of Apollo given to this library. This colossus, compared with that of Rhodes, is alluded to in the description of the road (which the book of Martial was to follow to arrive at the house of Proculus,) in the well-known lines of the poet.* The

“ Quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem
Vatis? quid orat, de patera novum
Fundens liquorem?” &c. *Od. i. 31.*

And the allusion to the library, connected with the same Temple of Apollo, will occur to the mind of the scholar,

“ tangere vitet

Scripta Palatinus quæcumque recepit Apollo.” *Ep. i. 3.*

It appears from Suetonius, in his life of Cæsar, xliv., that he had *designed* what Augustus here finally accomplished.

“ Jam de ornanda instruendaque urbe, item de tuendo ampliandoque imperio, plura ac majora indies destinabat. . . . Bibliothecas Græcas et Latinas, quas maximas posset, publicare, data M. Varroni cura comparandarum ac digerendarum.”—W.

* “ Ad Librum.

Vade salutatum—

Quæris iter dicam: vicinum Castora Canæ

Transibis Vestæ, virgineamque domum.

Inde sacro veneranda petes Palatia clivo,

Plurima qua summi fulget imago ducis.

Nec te detineat miri radiata Colossi,

Quæ Rhodium moles vincere gaudet opus.

Flecte vias hac, qua madidi sunt tecta Lycæi,

Et Cybeles picto stat corybante tholus.”

MART. i. 71, C.

Greek library, called Palatine, must have stood in the lesser hall, which was evidently divided into two parts, and similarly subdivided; there must have been also a third room, situated on the side opposite the great hall, which served for the attendants attached to the two libraries.

*Temples of Cybele, of Bacchus, and of Juno Sospita.**—Near the library, as shewn by some few ruins that exist, were three small separate buildings. As it is known by the verses of Martial that in the Palatine the temples dedicated, the one to Bacchus, and the other to Cybele, were near each other, and that Victor, in registering that of Cybele, added that of Juno Sospita, it may be determined that the three above-named temples stood there. In the middle was that of Cybele, which was held in greater celebrity by the ancients, and registered alone in the *Notitiæ Catalogue*; on one side the temple of Bacchus towards the principal way; on the other that of Juno Sospita. In front of these temples there was a spacious area in which the games were probably celebrated on account of the dedication of the Temple of Cybele by Junius Brutus.

House of Augustus.† — In front of these three temples are several remains of the house built by

* Sospita, a title of Juno, signifying she who gives health, and preserves from danger.—W.

† “*In restitutionem Palatinæ domus incendio absumptæ, veterani, decuriæ, tribus, atque etiam sigillatim e cætero genere hominum, libentes ac pro facultate quisque pecunias contulerunt: delibante tantummodo eo summarum acervos, neque ex quoquam plus denario auferente.*”—SÆTONIUS *in Augusto*, 57.—W.

Augustus in place of the one burnt by accident. All these remains were discovered by Rancourel in the excavations he made in the latter years of the last century. The form of these ruins was designed at the time by Piranesi and the architect Barberi. Before the house on the part turned towards the Circus Maximus, there exists a species of theatre evidently used by the persons of the Imperial Court to view the spectacle of the games that took place in the circus beneath.

Temple of Apollo.—On the side of his house that was struck by lightning Augustus raised, in honour of the victory of Actium, a temple to Apollo in a style of magnificence that excelled every other edifice of the kind situated on the Palatine. In the situation indicated near to the house of Augustus, there were found some remains of ancient walls that were supposed to have belonged to the cella of this temple, facing the Palatine library, which, from the colossal statue of Apollo, and from the temple consecrated to this divinity, was also called the library of Apollo. In the portico around the temple were the statues of the Danaides as mentioned

The same historian describes the vast improvements the city received from the taste and munificence of Augustus, in the well-known passage,

“Urbem neque pro majestate imperii ornatam, et inundationibus incendiisque obnoxiam, excoluit adeo, ut jure sit gloriatus, *marmoream se relinquere, quam lateritiam accepisse*. Tutam vero, quantam provideri humana ratione potuit, etiam in posterum præstitit. Publica opera plurima extruxit: ex quibus vel præcipua, Forum cum æde Martis Ultoris, Templum Apollinis in Palatio, ædem Tonantis Jovis in Capitolio,” &c., xxix. —W.

in the verses of Propertius,* many fragments of which were found in the time of Flaminius Vacca which he erroneously supposed to have belonged to figures of Amazons.

Temple of the Conquering Jove.—To the west of the Temple of Apollo there are traces of another temple supposed to be that distinctly registered under this appellation in the Notitiæ Catalogue.

Temple of Vesta Palatina.—Near the house of Augustus there are traces of a small round building, supposed by Ballanti, who lately illustrated the palace of the Cæsars, to have been the Temple of Vesta that stood on the Palatine, as stated in the verses of Ovid.† It is in this Temple of Vesta, it is believed, that the Palladium was placed by the Vestals, when the larger temple consecrated to this goddess was burnt, and which was situated near the Roman Forum.

Casa Tiberina.—After the Augustan house, Victor and the Notitiæ register the Tiberian, or the addition made by Tiberius to the house of Augustus when it became the Imperial residence. This house is generally placed on the part of the Palatine to the right of the Augustan house, and turned towards the Circus Maximus, where some remains of an ancient building still

* Propertius indicates this portico was opened by Augustus.

Quæris cur veniam tibi tardior. Aurea Phœbi

Porticus a magno Cæsare *aperta* fuit,

Tota erat in speciem Pœnis digesta columnis

Inter quos Danai fœmina turba senis.

ii. *El.* 29.

† Phœbus habet partem, Vestæ pars altera cessit,

Quod superest istis, tertius ipso tenet.

OVID., *Fast.*—C.

exist. This house possessed a library which, from the name of the building, was called Tiberiana. Nearly in front of this house are indications of the Pulvinarium, from which the Emperors were accustomed to view the games of the Circus Maximus. On the lower part of the hill beneath this house, and where now stands the Church of St. Anastasia, there exist several remains of a large reservoir, which was evidently destined to collect the waters that were carried to the Palatine, and probably transmitted for the use of the circus.

Part of the palace added by Caligula.—The Imperial Palace was afterwards greatly enlarged by the Emperor Caligula, who extended it so far that it reached the Roman Forum,* where he made the entrance by the Temple of Castor and Pollux. This circumstance enables us to determine the position of this addition made by Caligula on the side looking over the Forum, where there exist numerous remains of ancient walls, which are evident proofs of the size of this building. In the western angle of this side of the Palatine, towards the lower part, there are still considerable remains of ancient walls that seem, from their construction being similar to that of the other Palatine buildings situated on this side, to have belonged to the extension carried on to the Forum by Caligula, and, in fact, to this vicinity is assigned the Temple of Castor and Pollux, which was

* “Partem Palatii ad forum usque promovit, atque æde Castoris et Pollucis in vestibulum transfigurata, consistens sæpe inter fratres deos medium se adorandum adeuntibus exhibebat: super templum Divi Augusti ponte transmisso, Palatium Capitoliumque conjunxit. Mox quo propior esset, in area Capitolina novæ domus fundamenta fecit.”—SÜETONIUS *in Caligula*.—W.

then formed into the entrance. In the opposite angle of the same side of the hill towards the Tiber, must have been the steps called by Plutarch, in the article *Romulus*, those of the beautiful bank made by Caligula near the Corgno, evidently to form a communication on that side of the palace with the Velabrum. It is further stated by Suetonius, that Caligula, to be near the Capitoline Jove, built a bridge that joined the palace to the Capitol, commencing above the spot occupied by the temple of the deified Augustus, and that in the Capitoline area he laid the foundations to make for himself a new habitation. This circumstance confirms the position of the extension of the palace by Caligula on this side of the hill. On this same side of the Palatine stood the houses of the most illustrious men who flourished in the last years of the Roman Republic, and who are well known in ancient history. Before the Palatine was wholly occupied by the Imperial Palace, this must have been the most inhabited part of Rome. Three of these houses only are registered in Victor's catalogue, those of Dionysius, of Q. Catulus, and of Cicero.* The position of these on this side of the

* There are many allusions made by Cicero (both in his Letters to Atticus and Orations), to his house on the Palatine, its destruction and burning by the firebrand Clodius, and its subsequent honourable restoration by the Senate and Roman people.

Vid. Epist. ad Atticum, passim ; in L. iv. Ep. 3, he thus writes : —“ *Armatis hominibus ante diem tertium, Non. Novemb. expulsi sunt fabri de area nostra ; disturbata porticus Catuli, quæ ex S. C. Coss. locutione reficiebatur, et ad tectum pæne pervenerat. Q. fratris domus primo fracta conjectu lapidum ex area nostra, deinde inflammata jussu Clodii, inspectante urbe, conjectis*

Palatine is fixed by the celebrated house of M. Scaurus, which Asconius in the notes on the oration of Cicero for Scaurus, states to have been in that part of the Palatine which was reached on descending from the Via Sacra by turning up the adjoining lane towards the left, or that by descending from the Via Sacra to the Forum, and turning to the left by the way that was under the Palatine and served as the limit of the two regions, we would arrive at the house of Scaurus, which there occupied an eminent position towards the top of the hill. As this house afterwards belonged to Clodius, it is thus ascertained that here also was the house of Cicero (as the vicinity of his house to that of Clodius is proved by many passages of his writings), together with that of Q. Catulus. By the extension of the palace on this side, those houses that were situated on the top of the hill, were probably comprised within the buildings of the palace, and those that were lower down, passing successively to different individuals, it

ignibus, magna querela et gemitu non dicam bonorum, qui nescio an ulli sint, sed planè hominum omnium."

It is to be borne in mind that Clodius had ordered the Pontifices to consecrate the ground on which this splendid house of Cicero stood, to the goddesses Peace and Liberty, so as to make the restitution of it in a manner impossible; but how futile were these efforts of his bitter enemy, and how triumphant his return. The passage in the oration "Pro domo sua ad Pontifices," will show:—

"Me consequentibus diebus in ea ipsâ domo, quâ tu me expuleras, quam expilâras, quam incenderas, pontifices, consules, patres conscripti collocaverunt: mihique, quod ante me nemini, pecuniâ publicâ ædificandam domum consuerunt."—Vide in *Pison*.—W.

may be believed that they preserved the denomination of their primitive owners.

Temples of Augustus and of the Household Gods.—On this side of the Palatine stood the Temple of Augustus, begun by Livia, continued by Tiberius, and finished by Caligula, as mentioned by Suetonius in the life of the latter emperor. It is stated by that writer that Caligula commenced, at the upper part of the ground occupied by that temple, the bridge that communicated from the palace with the Capitol. The situation of the temple is agreed to have been at the place named Velia, which, by common accord, is in the angle of the hill looking over the Forum, where some remains of large walls have lately been found that may be supposed to have belonged to the substructions of this noble edifice. The plan of the temple is recognised in the fragment of the Capitoline marbles marked XLIV, on which is also seen the plan of the other round temple; of which some ruins exist at the same spot; these ruins may, from their situation, evidently be attributed to the Temple of the Divi Penates, Household Gods, built on the part of the Palatine called Velia, where in more remote times, stood the house of Tullus Hostilius.*

Part of the Palace added by Nero.—A greater addition was made to the Palace of the Cæsars under Nero on the Palatine, besides the part built upon the Esquiline distinguished from its magnificence, by the

* In the Ancyrana inscription is recorded the building of this and other temples by Augustus in these words:—

ÆDEM . DEUM . PENATIUM . ÆDEM . JUVENTUTIS .

ÆDEM . MATRIS . MAGNÆ . IN . PALATIO . FECI . C.

denomination of the golden house. Pliny, considering these vast extensions of the palace, both under Caligula and under Nero, observes that the city was twice occupied by the House of the Emperors.* As remains of the additions made by Nero on the Palatine, we may recognise the large walls and arches situated on the left of the Augustan House towards the Circus Maximus, and along the side fronting the Cœlian. About the middle of this side are the arches, existing in the plain beneath, which formed a branch of the aqueduct built by Nero, that conveyed the Claudian waters to the Palatine.

Palatine Baths.—At the place where the Neronian aqueduct terminated seem to have been the Palatine baths indicated by Flavius. The ruins existing in this

* Nero's Palace was a structure of such extraordinary extent and magnificence, that were not the descriptions of it which have been transmitted to us too well authenticated to admit of doubt, they would be received rather as the fictions of an eastern tale than records of a reality. The enclosure extended from the Palatine to the Esquiline Mount, which was more than a mile in breadth, and it was entirely surrounded by a spacious portico, embellished with a profusion of sculpture and statuary, among which stood the celebrated colossal statue of Nero himself, 120 feet in height.

The gardens contained every variety of hill and dale, wood and water, interspersed with temples and pleasure-houses, and the baths were supplied from a great distance with sea and mineral waters. The apartments were lined with marble enriched with jasper, topaz, and other precious gems; the timber works and ceilings were inlaid with gold, ivory, and mother-of-pearl; and the resplendent elegance of its furniture and decoration, procured it the appellation of the Golden House. But it was not destined to remain a monument of either the grandeur or the folly of its founder; it was destroyed by Vespasian, as being too gorgeous for the residence even of a Roman Emperor.—W.

locality correspond to a certain degree with the design on the fragment of the ancient map of Rome, LIV, in which there is an inscription indicating the baths of Cæsar, that probably formed a part of these Palatine baths.

Area Palatina.—Between the Augustan house, and the addition made by Nero, there are traces of a large and somewhat long area, which was visibly surrounded with porticoes and had a large apsis in the centre of the western side. This area evidently served as a courtyard to the palace of the Cæsars, and also as a private race-ground, as its form, nearly similar to that of a circus, demonstrates, so that it is marked as the Palatine hippodrome.

Gardens of Adonis.—In an interesting fragment of the map of Rome (XLIX) is found the design of a large hall surrounded by five rows of columns with clear indications of plantations in the centre. It is generally agreed, from the inscription that partly exists, that these designs represent the gardens of Adonis in which Domitian received Apollonius Tyanæus after having sacrificed to Pallas, but the exact place where these gardens were situated is not known. Considering, however, the great extent occupied by these gardens, as proved by the Capitoline marbles, I find no other locality on the Palatine sufficient to contain them except the area situated on the top of the hill reaching to the left side of the principal entrance to the palace.

Temple of Pallas.—This situation of the gardens of Adonis is still further, to a certain degree, confirmed by that of the Temple of Minerva or Pallas, where

Domitian offered a sacrifice before receiving Apollonius Tyanæus* in the gardens above-mentioned, which must have been near to it, also from the denomination the locality preserves this temple must have stood very near the place where the gardens of Adonis were situated.

Septizonium of Septimius Severus.—The last of the Palatine buildings we shall dwell upon is the large edifice erected by Septimius Severus in order to present the exhibition of one of his great works to the view of those who came to Rome from Africa. It was called Septizonium,† according to some from the form of its structure, according to others from the locality concentrating various ways. There existed till the time of Sixtus V. in the southern angle of the Palatine many remains of this edifice which were destroyed‡ in order to

* This Apollonius, called Tyanæus, was a Pythagorean philosopher, whose followers ascribed to him the possession of miraculous powers. A Roman Emperor placed his statue next that of our Saviour. In relation to the biography of Tyanæus, Gibbon has concocted one of his most infamous notes.—W.

† *Septizonium.*—Is, from its derivation, the name of a great mass of building surrounded by seven belts or rings, most probably of lofty columns. It was so called from the Greek ζώνιον, a girdle. Spartianus mentions (among the public works which were built by Severus) a Septizonium, and “Thermas Severianas;” and Suetonius, in the beginning of his “Life of Titus,” tell us he was, “natus—prope Septizonium, sordidis ædibus,” &c., but this was doubtless a wholly different one from that of Severus, as he reigned so many years after. In Ammianus Marcellinus there is mention of a Septizonium, which that writer declares to have been a celebrated place in Rome, where a conduit or bath (Nympheum) of great extent was founded by the Emperor Marcus.—W.

‡ *Vide* chapter on the vicissitudes of the city.—W.

employ in another building the columns that were left, but various designs were preserved of the appearance these ruins presented. In the fragments of the ancient map of Rome relating to the curved part of the Circus Maximus (XLIII) that was near it, the plan of this building is shewn, with some variation, however, from what was seen in the ruins that remained. In the excavations made by Fea in 1829, along the Strada di S. Gregorio, in order to find the aqueduct that conveyed the so called waters of Mercury, a kind of square foundation, unoccupied in the middle, was discovered with the indication of the pavement of an ancient way that went round it, forming in this part a semicircular figure. This foundation, which evidently served to support a large statue in front of the Septizonium, happening to agree at one extremity of its front with what is seen marked in the above ruins, leads to the belief that this edifice extended as much further towards the Circus Maximus, and that it was composed of three apses as indicated by the Capitoline marbles.

*Arch of Constantine.**—In the circumference prescribed to this region, it is customary to comprise also the arch that exists entire at the foot of the eastern angle of the Palatine hill, which by the inscription (in

* Inscription on the Arch of Constantine.

IMP. CAES. FL. CONSTANTINO . MAXIMO

P. F. AVGVSTO . S . P. Q. R.

QVOD . INSTINCTV . DIVINITATIS . MENTIS

MAGNITVDINE . CVM . EXERCITV . SVO

TAM . DE . TYRANNO . QVAM . DE . OMNI . EIVS

FACTIONE . VNO . TEMPORE . IUSTIS

REMPUBLICAM . VLTVS . EST . ARMIS

ARCVM . TRIVMPHIS . INSIGNEM . DICAUIT

the note) repeated on its front parts, is proved to have been dedicated to Constantine.

On the minor arched roofs is inscribed on one side SIC. X.—SIC XX, and on the other, VOTIS. X.—VOTIS. XX. From the various style of sculpture of the figured works that adorn this monument, it is easily seen that they belonged to some other more ancient edifice, and principally to an arch of Trajan, as appears by the sculptures allusive to this Emperor placed upon the arch. The arch of Trajan from which these ornaments were taken, must have been the one left imperfect after his death, as stated by Dion, and not the one that stood in his forum, as commonly believed, since this forum continued to be preserved in all its parts, even after the time of Constantine, as appears by the description of Ammianus Marcellinus. Besides, the words ARCVI TRIVMPHIS INSIGNEM in the last line of the inscription, prove, in a measure, that this arch was already illustrated by other triumphs, and that it had existed on the same spot before the time of Constantine. The situation of this arch was, in fact, comprised in the circumference prescribed to this region (and not in that belonging to the following region), as stated in the Notitiæ Catalogue, so that the limits of the latter region could not extend to it; and seeing this locality registered in the catalogue mentioned, it must be considered as one of the numerous additions subsequently made to the region we have now described.*

* The present appearance of many of the ancient monuments referred to by Canina in the 8th, 9th, and 10th Regions, will be found described in Chapter 13, vol. ii. of "Italy in the Nineteenth Century."—W.

REGION XI.

CIRCUS MAXIMUS.

1. Temple of Ceres and of Proserpine.—2. Temple of Ceres and of Hercules Pompeianus.—3. Temple of Mercury.—4. Temple of Portumnus.—5. Temple of Vesta.—6. Temple of Castor called of Fortune.—7. House of Rienzi.—8. Forum Olitorium, or Herb Market.—9. Temples of Piety, of Juno Matuta, and of Hope.—10. Arch of Lentulus.

THE eleventh region, called that of the Circus Maximus which it contained, besides the space comprised between the Palatine and Aventine hills, occupied almost entirely by the Circus, extended also to the plain situated along the course of the Tiber, lying between the two extremities of the walls enclosed by Servius, that is from the Trigemina to the Flumentana gate. In this locality it formed a circuit of about 11,050 feet, as it is registered by the Regionaries.

The Circus Maximus.—The valley situated between the Aventine and the Palatine, called by the ancients Murtia, presented from the early times of Rome a propitious site for the races so that they might be seen by numerous spectators. It is related by Dionysius Halicarnassus, that Tarquinius Priscus gave a permanent form to the Circus, called Maximus, in the valley situated between the Palatine and the Aventine, being

the first to construct covered seats around it, as the people were before obliged to view the game standing on benches supported by wooden poles; he also divided the ground into thirty districts, assigning one to each Curia, in order that the people should be regularly placed so as to have a distinct view of the games. This circus was subsequently formed into a structure so large, that it was considered as one of the remarkable objects of the city. The length of this circus, according to the same writer, was three stadii and a half,* the breadth four plectri (equal to 400 feet), a deep ditch ten feet broad surrounded the two larger, and one of the lesser sides. Behind this ditch, called the Euripus, there were three tiers of porticoes, the lower ones having, as in the theatre, stone benches, the upper ones having benches of wood. The two larger sides, as in all the other circi, were united in one extremity by a smaller side having the form of a semicircle, and the larger sides consisted of a single portico of three rows embracing eight stadii, capable of containing 150,000 persons. On the other smaller side were the starting points, where the horses were let loose at the same moment. Without the circus there was another portico of a single tier, which contained the shops, and over these there were various habitations. In each of the shops were entrances, and steps used as a passage to view the games. As to this description of Dionysius, the matters which relate to the dimensions and the number of spectators are stated differently by Pliny, and are not

* The circus was therefore nearly half an Italian mile long.
—W.

considered to be exact. For this reason Nardini, wishing to reconcile the statement of Dionysius with that of Pliny, supposed that the measures given by the former of these writers referred to the whole circus comprising the porticoes, and those of the latter to the internal space only. Yet it is proper to observe that the measurements given by Dionysius of the length and circuit of the porticoes are, to a certain degree, verified by what I have been able to deduce from the traces presented by the ground.

But these matters cannot now be determined, from the many changes that occurred in ancient times, whence may be derived the differences in assigning the dimensions, and the discrepancies pointed out respecting the number of spectators that this circus could contain a number computed by Dionysius at a hundred and fifty, by Pliny at two hundred and sixty, by Victor at three hundred and eighty, and by the *Notitiæ* at four hundred and eighty-five thousand. These disparities of dimensions and number of spectators must be attributed to the different additions made to the circus, principally by the emperors, as deduced from the various statements of ancient writers. It should be observed that until the eighth century there remained an inscription on the arch which afforded an entrance to the circus on the southern side, which must have been put up on account of some addition made to the circus by the Emperor Titus.* There also still remain some ruins of

* S. P. Q. R.

IMP. TITO . CAESARI . DIVI . VESPASIANI . F.

VESPASIANO . AVG. PONTIFICI . MAXIMO

porticoes of this circus along the side situated under the Palatine. Other remains of the curved part are found near the Cœlian, and some also exist on the other large side, under the Aventine. Amongst the fragments of the ancient map of Rome are those marked XLIII, which are commonly admitted to represent the semicircular part of this circus, with some neighbouring buildings, and also a part of the larger sides with the indication of the spina in the centre. It is upon this spina that stood the two obelisks that are now erected, one in the Piazza del Popolo, the other in that of St. John Lateran. Here stood also a temple (which is designed on a medal of Trajan representing this circus), which he restored and enlarged. This temple is supposed to be that of Youth, mentioned by Livy in the forty-sixth book of his history, and it is exhibited by the said medal as having been in the middle of the side placed under the Aventine. Towards the spot occupied by the starting place of the circus, in making lately some excavations to find the aqueduct called the Mercury, a large wall was found that followed the direction of the porticoes of the circus, and in this it seems to me possible to recognise a part of the enclosure where the cars were detained

TRIB. POT. IM. XVII. COS. VIII. P. P.

PRINCIPI. SVO.

QVOD. PRAECEPTIS. PATRIS. CONSILIISQVE. ET.

AVSPICIS. GENTEM. JVDAEORVM. DOMVIT. ET

VRBEM. HIEROSOLIMAM. OMNIBVS. ANTE. SE.

DVCIBVS. REGIBVS. GENTILESQVE. AVT. FRVSTRA

PETITAM. AVT. OMNINO. INTENTATAM. DELEVIT.

The above inscription was found in the eighth century, and referred to an arch in the Circus Maximus. It was, subsequently, most inappropriately ascribed to the Arch of Titus in the Via Sacra.

before entering into the course. Opposite this enclosure, towards the Aventine, and behind the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin, there are some ancient walls which seemed to have belonged to the office of the secretary of the circus, or to the place where deliberations were held upon matters relating to the games that took place in the circus.

*Temple of Ceres and Proserpine.**—Near the end of the circus, and beyond the goal, stood, as clearly proved by Dionysius, the Temple of Ceres and Proserpine vowed by the dictator Aulus Postumius, and afterwards consecrated by the consul Cassius. As there remain in this position introduced in the walls of the church of Sa. Maria in Cosmedin, several Corinthian columns, we are enabled to establish the situation of this temple at this spot, and that the said columns belonged to its peristyle; this is chiefly proved by their style, which is similar to that of the works raised at the period when Tacitus states that this temple had been restored by Tiberius, the primitive building having been destroyed by fire or by time. As this temple had been dedicated to different divinities, we must suppose that its cella was divided into two parts, like that of the Temple of Venus and Rome, if they were not distinct temples that were originally consecrated to these divinities.

* There are at present eight Corinthian columns belonging to the peristyle of this temple, incrusted in the walls of the church named by Canina; they are of white marble, skilfully worked, and establish that, in the reign of Tiberius, when the beautiful temple, of which they formed part, was erected, the science of architecture must have reached its utmost perfection.—W.

Temples of Cæsar and of Hercules Pompeianus.—

These two temples which are registered one after the other by Victor, are proved by Nardini to have been near the Aventine, with the front towards the Palatine. On the spot indicated there exist some remains of ancient walls, which seem to have belonged to one of the cellæ of this temple.

Temple of Mercury.—Nardini, on the assertion of a certain Francesco Passeri, has also stated that there had been found in a vineyard, situated between the Circus Maximus and the Aventine hill, sundry ruins of a temple consecrated to Mercury, which he believed to be the one mentioned by Ovid as being in sight of this circus.*

Salinæ—Salt-stores.—At the extremity of this region, under the Aventine, was the Trigemina gate, which, according to the observations of Professor Nibby, must have stood not far from the Sublician bridge. It may thus be placed in the plain under the S. Sabina Church, where there exist some ruins of this bridge. Near this gate were the Salinæ or salt store-houses registered by Rufus and by Victor; and these, according to Frontinus, gave the name to the spot situated near to this gate. Many remains of ancient walls still exist in this locality under the hill, which may be supposed to have belonged to the warehouses attached to these Salinæ.

Temple of Portumnus.—This temple is registered by Rufus and Victor in the vicinity of the Sublician

* *Templa tibi posuere Patres spectantia Circum
Idibus ex illo est hæc tibi festa dies.*

OVID., *Fast.* v.—C.

bridge; and as the ruins seen in the river before arriving at the port of Ripa Grande, indicate the real situation of this bridge, the Temple of Portumnus may be fixed at this spot, where there are also ruins of ancient walls near the arch of the new Salinæ.

Arch of Lentulus.—Near the spot where stood the arch called Salara Vecchia, it is stated by Poggio Bracciolini, and by Mazzocchi, that there existed in their time an ancient arch, which appeared by the inscription to have been built, by decree of the Senate, by Publius Lentulus Scipio, and Titus Quintius Crispinus Valerianus, who are supposed to have been consuls of Rome in the first years of the empire.*

Temple of Dis (or Pluto) called Temple of Vesta.—To determine to what divinity was consecrated the small round temple existing, and in a great measure preserved, on the banks of the Tiber near the Senatorial or Palatine bridge, much has been written and various opinions offered, that would require a long dissertation merely to relate them separately. But if this temple is not that of Vesta, which it is now universally known was near the Roman Forum, nor that of Hercules Victor which was in the Forum Boarium, and could not reach to this spot, nor that of Portumnus above described, which was near the Sublician bridge, nor that of Volupia which was near the Navalia, nor

* Inscription on the Arch of Lentulus:—

P. LENTVLVS . CN. F. SCIPIO
T. QVINTIVS . C. VALERIANVS . COS.
EC. T. C.
FACIVNDVM . CVRAVERE . IIDEMQ.
COMPROBAVERE.

C.

that of Vesta Mater or Cybele, nor that of any other divinity to whom a temple was known to have been consecrated in this region; it seems to me not unreasonable, since the round form was not peculiar to Vesta, to believe it to be one of those temples named by the Regionaries, the precise situation of which is not determined for us. And amongst these I think it suitable to select that of Dis, which is registered unanimously by Rufus, by Victor, and by the Notitiæ, amongst the first edifices of this reign, since the richness of the ornaments, which appears especially in the capitals and in the entablature of this temple, seem to be particularly adapted to the character of this divinity. But if this denomination is not suited to this temple, it will not be the only one to be proved false. The place where this temple is situated was called by the ancients the beautiful land, and there are still found remains of large walls which supported the banks along the course of the Tiber. In these walls, at a short distance from the temple, is the mouth of the celebrated Cloaca Maxima.

Temple of Fortuna Virilis.—With respect to the Ionic temple, now the church of S. Maria Egiziaca, I cannot agree with the authors of the ancient topography of Rome, who were of opinion that this temple was that of Matuta Mater which was in the Forum Boarium; and this Forum being situated in the Eighth region, could not reach this spot without interrupting the communication with the Forum Olitorium that was comprised in this region. I therefore think it better to retain the denomination of Fortuna Virilis that is gene-

rally attributed to it. It does not, however, appear to me, that the ruins that still exist can belong to the construction of that temple, stated by Dionysius to have been built by Servius Tullius near the banks of the Tiber, as the style of the architecture does not suit that epoch, although it may be admitted that these ruins were of some posterior restoration.

House of Niccolo di Lorenzo (should be Nicolas Rienzi).—Opposite this Ionic temple, and near the Palatine bridge, are remains of the house of Niccolo di Rienzi (called Lorenzo), who was Senator of Rome in the fourteenth century, which is built with fragments of various architecture, and for this reason it is commonly ranked amongst the monuments of Ancient Rome, not for its construction, but for its materials.*

Forum Olitorium, or Herb Market.—This Forum is usually placed without the walls of Servius towards

* Canina misprints the name Lorenzo for Rienzi twice. The cold description given of the dwelling of

“The friend of Petrarch—hope of Italy—
Rienzi, last of Romans,”

savours of a severe censorship. I scarcely know a spot in Rome which is calculated to awaken more stirring recollections. The house of Rienzi is patched up with materials stripped from more ancient buildings. Over an arch is a long unintelligible inscription.

This quarter of Rome, containing some of its most interesting antiquities, is generally in a state of inconceivable filth.

The small circular temple above described, commonly called that of Vesta (manifestly not *the* Temple of Vesta which was near the Roman Forum), is a gem in architecture, and known over Europe by models and engravings. The remains of the Temple of Fortune, consisting of seven Ionic columns supporting an ornamented entablature, and resting on a basement well preserved, are very striking and, I think, beautiful.—W.

the theatre of Marcellus on the site now called the piazza Montanara. In this locality, extending to the base of the Capitol, there exist some few remains of ancient arched works, which in past times were supposed from their great number to have formed a part of the basilica of Caius and Lucius, but without any foundation, as the style of architecture could not suit that kind of edifice: it is, therefore, more probable that they belonged to some portico situated round this Forum.

Temples of Piety, of Juno Matuta, and of Hope.—In the Forum Olitorium, are generally placed the Temples of Piety,* and of Matuta, which are registered by the Regionaries in this Forum, and also that of Hope,† which is frequently mentioned by Livy. In

* The passage in Livy runs thus: “Ædes duæ eo anno dedicatæ sunt: una Veneris Erycinæ ad portam Collinam. . . Altera, in foro olitorio, Pietatis. Eam ædem dedicavit M. Acilius Glabrio duumvir; statuamque auratam, quæ prima omnium in Italia statua aurata est, patri Glabrioni posuit.

“Is erat, qui ipse eam ædem voverat, quo die cum rege Antiocho ad Thermopylas depugnasset: locaveratque idem ex senatus consulto.”—xl. 34.—W.

† *Temple of Hope.*—This building is mentioned in various places by Livy, as in ii. 51. “Adeoque id bellum ipsis institit mœnibus, ut primo pugnatum *ad Spei* sit æquo Marte, iterum ad portam Collinam.”

The burning of it is related in xxiv. 47. “Romæ fœdum incendium per duas noctes ac diem unum tenuit: solo æquata omnia inter Salinas ac portam Carmentalem, cum Æquimœlio Jugarioque vico. In templis Fortunæ ac matris Matutæ, *et Spei* extra Portam, late vagatus ignis sacra profanaque multa absumsit.” And in l. xxv. 7, we have an account of the public restoration of the same. “Et triumviri bini (creati sunt), uni sacris conquirendis, donisque persignandis: alteri reficiendis ædibus Fortunæ et matris Matutæ intra Portam Carmentalem, sed et *Spei* extra Portam, quæ priore anno incendio consumptæ fuerant.”—W.

the church of S. Niccolo in Carcere, are the remains of three temples placed near to each other, which are generally believed to have belonged to those named. In some excavations made a few years ago in front of that church, a large pedestal was found on the line of the middle temple, on which pedestal is supposed to have stood the gilt statue raised, according to Livy, to M. Acilius Glabrio, in front of the Temple of Piety consecrated to him by his son for the victory he gained over King Antiochus at the Thermopylæ. For this reason it is that the middle temple is supposed to have been dedicated to the divinity (Piety). But this is not that temple erected under the Consuls Caius Quintius and Marcus Attilius nearly in the same locality, to filial piety, on account of the well-known fact described* chiefly by Pliny under the title of Roman

* Canina refers to Pliny, Nat. Hist. vii. 36. I extract the passage because it lays the scene of this beautiful story in the temple assigned to it by Canina, according to Pliny, and not in the temple included in the church of S. Niccolo in Carcere, where, for interested motives, it is laid by the guides and some mistaken antiquaries in Rome. Moreover, Pliny names the mother as the object of this act of piety, which renders the story more natural and not the less affecting. "*Humilis in plebe et ideo ignobilis puerpera, supplicii causa carcere inclusa matre, cum impetrasset aditum a janitore semper excussa, ne quid inferret sibi, deprehensa est uberibus suis alere eam. Quo miraculo salus matris donata filiæ pietati est, ambæque perpetuis alimentis, et locus ille eidem consecratus est deæ, C. Qunctio, M. Attilio Coss. templo pietatis extructo in illius carceris sede, ubi nunc Marcelli theatrum est.*"

Of course the temple was destroyed to build the theatre. The poetical lines of Byron (who changed the sex of the parent) recur to the mind of every reader:—

"The starry fable of the milky-way,
Has not this story's purity."—W.

Charity, as it is stated by the same writer that that temple was destroyed when the theatre of Marcellus was built. The Temple of Juno Matuta, which, according to Livy, was built in this Forum, and dedicated by C. Cornelius, in consequence of a vow made in the Gallic war,* seems to have been situated beside that of Piety towards the Flumentana gate, and of this temple there remain five small columns introduced in the left wall of the above-mentioned church. The third temple that stood towards the theatre of Marcellus is supposed to have been the one dedicated by Attilius Calatinus to Hope; this Livy proves to have been situated exactly in this Forum, which was struck by lightning and afterwards burnt but subsequently restored, and after being burnt a second time dedicated anew by Germanicus under Tiberius.† There also remain indications of these

* *Temple of Juno Sospita (called Matuta by Canina).*—" Consul (C. Cornelius) principio pugnae vovit ædem Sospitæ Junoni, si eo die hostes fusi fugatique essent. A militibus clamor sublatus, compotem voti consulem se facturos et impetus in hostes est factus."—LIVY, xxxii. 30.

And the dedication of this temple is thus told us in Book xxxiv. c. 53. "Ædes eo anno aliquot dedicatæ sunt: una Junonis Sospitæ in Foro Olitoris, vota locataque quadriennio ante a C. Cornelio consule Gallico bello; censor idem dedicavit."

It is clear from a comparison of these two passages that the reading "Junonis Matutæ" is wrong. It occurs in some editions in this last passage; but Livy expressly tells us in Book xxxii., (as above), to whom Cornelius vowed the temple, and the same man, when censor, dedicated it. The references in Canina are incorrect.—W.

† Tacitus has a passage in reference to the building of the temples, mentioned in the above account of this region. "The plan undertaken by Augustus for the building of Temples in the room of such as had been injured by time, or damaged by fire,

three temples on a fragment of the ancient map of Rome (xxxI); and in front of the middle one is marked the large pedestal found opposite the church above named, on which stood the statue of Glabrio.

was now completed. Tiberius dedicated the various structures to their respective deities; one near the Great Circus to Bacchus, Proserpine and Ceres, originally raised in consequence of a vow made by Aulus Postumius the dictator, a temple to Flora, near the same place, formerly dedicated by Lucius and Marcus Publicius, during their ædileship: another to Janus in the herb-market, founded by Caius Duillius, the first who by a naval victory added lustre to the Roman name, and triumphed over the Carthaginians. The Temple of Hope, vowed by Attilius in the same Punic war, was dedicated by Germanicus." See the 49th chap. of second Book of the Annals of Tacitus.—W.

REGION XII.

PISCINA PUBLICA.

1. Seven Houses of the Parthians.—2. House of Chilo.—3. Area Radicaria.—4. House of Cornificius.—5. Temple of Isis Athénodoria.—Baths of Caracalla (not in map).

THE twelfth region was called Piscina publica from a large bathing-place used as a swimming school for youth before the establishment of public baths. In length it occupied the space lying between the Cœlian and the Aventine hills, touching the limits of the second and thirteenth regions, which latter occupying those hills, bore their respective names; but in order to give a more extensive space than that generally assigned to this region, which was occupied in a great part by the Antonine thermæ alone, it must have included that part of the Aventine which is separated (towards the east) from the Aventine hill properly so called, and where now stand the churches of S. Sabina, and of S. Balbina. Its length from the Circus Maximus must have reached a little beyond the south side of the Antonine baths, where the first region commenced on that side. Its circuit is fixed by Victor, and by the Notitiæ at 12,000 feet, and the locality indicated nearly agrees with that measure.

The Baths of Caracalla.—Of the Piscina publica,

which had given its name to this region, (no indication whatever remaining at the time of Festus as proved by his explanation of this name,) it is now rather difficult to determine the real position. Immense and striking ruins, however, still exist of the Antonine baths, which were built on a scale of great magnificence by the Emperor Antoninus Caracalla, and occupied a large space on the plain of the region situated between the Coelian and the Aventine hills. These thermæ were composed of extensive halls and court-yards surrounded by porticoes, which were devoted to the different kinds of baths, and to gymnastic exercises. It is also evident that they were enclosed by a long line of porticoes and exhedræ (*i. e.* rooms for conversations), of which there remain many ruins that excite general admiration. The plan traced in the topographical map is founded upon the excavations made some years ago by the Count Velo. In the upper part of these thermæ, where water reservoirs are known to have existed, was the terminus of the aqueduct built expressly to supply the quantity of water necessary for the baths, as seen by the traces that remain; and this aqueduct in its descent from the hill, passed over the arch called that of Drusus, near which various ruins of the arches that sustained the aqueduct have been lately discovered.

Seven Houses of the Parthians.—Near the north side of the entrance of the Antonine baths there are some ancient walls supposed to have belonged to a water reservoir, but from the disposition of the rooms of various forms indicated in the ruins that remain, I am

of opinion that they belonged to the seven houses of the Parthians registered by Victor, and by the Notitiæ, immediately after the Antonine thermæ, and built by the Emperor Severus,* who is supposed to have raised many ornamental edifices along the same way to present the works built by him to the view of those who visited Rome from Africa. These houses having been built at the same time evidently formed a single edifice, and the seven divisions related perhaps only to the same number of entrances in the front of the building as represented in the present maps of ancient Rome.

Temple or Sacellum of Isis Athenodoria.—In the Catalogue of Rufus, and in that of the Notitiæ, the Isis Athenodoria being registered, and some inscriptions having been found relative to that divinity between the church of S. Sisto and the Antonine baths,† it was

* Septimius Severus was himself a native of Africa, “who, in the gradual ascent of private honours, had concealed his daring ambition, which was never diverted from its steady course by the allurements of pleasure, the apprehension of danger, or the feelings of humanity.” Having seized the supreme power, he proved a vigorous tyrant, while he affected a taste for splendour and costly buildings.—W.

† Inscriptions found relating to the Temple of Isis, in the locality mentioned.

SAECVLO . FELICI

ISIAS . SACERDOS

ISIDI . SALVATORI

CONSECRATIO.

The second,

PONTIFICIO . VOTIS

ANNVANT . DII . ROMANAE . REIP.

ARCANAQ. MORBIS . PRAESIDIA

ANNVANT . QVORVM . NVTV

ROMANO . IMPERIO . REGNA . CESSERE.

manifest that near these baths there stood a temple or sacellum of Isis, surnamed Athenodoria. And although this denomination be derived from Athenodorus, a celebrated statuary mentioned by Pliny, who perhaps made the statue of this goddess, still it must be believed that there was a sacred edifice to contain it, and that it was not left in the open air as supposed by Nardini. As it is stated by Spartianus that in Rome there were various temples of Isis * built by Antoninus Caracalla, it is a further reason to suppose, that one of these was situated near his thermæ.

House of Chilo.—At a short distance from these ruins towards the Circus Maximus there are remains of ancient walls, of hard brick construction, that were subsequently covered with other buildings, which seem evidently to have belonged to the house of Chilo registered at this spot by Victor, and by the Notitiæ. This house, as proved by Bellerio, is designated in two fragments of the ancient map of Rome (xxxvi. and xxxvii.) in which the gardens are represented, together with the house.

* *The Temple of Isis (a Rotundo).*—It was the Emperor Caracalla who restored the worship of Isis in Rome, which had been abolished (it is said) with some marks of infamy by Tiberius. For a pleasant account of the occasion of it, *vide* Josephus, Ant. xviii. 4. The story is too long and of too peculiar a kind to give here.—W.

The Circus of Caracalla is a little way out of town, near the side of the Via Appia. The figure of it still remains (as do the Metæ within it), but all in ruins. The obelisk, which was within it, has been set up on the fine fountain in the Piazza Navona. This Circus is said to have contained 130,000 spectators.—W.

Area Radicaria.—Of the area Radicaria, registered in this region by Victor, and by the Notitiæ, there remains some indication in a fragment of the ancient Capitoline map (LVI). In this fragment is also united the indication of the Mutatorium, which, it has been proved, was situated in the first region, and the two regions having in common the side situated towards the Via Appia, it is evident that this area must have been placed somewhere at a short distance before coming to the Antonine baths, since beyond these baths, on this side, the first region was no longer the confine of the twelfth. The same fragment, also, indicates the way that formed the limit of the two regions.

House of Cornificius.—On the hill near the church of S. Balbina there exist some remains of ancient walls that supported the higher ground. On the same spot, Bufalini has marked in his map of Rome other ruins of a large building which he called the baths of Decius; but having reason to believe that these baths were situated elsewhere, as will be stated in the following region, I am of opinion that here stood the house of Cornificius, registered in the catalogue of this region by Victor, and by the Notitiæ. Amongst the designs for which we are indebted to Burlington of the different Roman thermæ, made with great care by Palladio, there is a part of an ancient building which, presenting a great resemblance to the indications of the ruins marked in Bufalini's map, seem to me to have been taken from these, and thus, according to the disposition deduced from these remains an idea has been given of the whole

building to which these ruins belonged in the topographical map.*

* The great interest of this region centres in the enormous ruins of the baths of Caracalla, which exceed all expectation. These prodigious thermæ, erected by a detestable tyrant, seem to have surpassed in magnificence all fabrics of the like kind in Rome. There were in these baths (which were open at stated hours for the service of senators and people indiscriminately) 1600 seats of marble, for those who bathed, to sit while enjoying the use of the *strigil*; some of these were said to have been moved to a cloister of the Church of St. John Lateran. I may add, that in the baths of Dioclesian were reckoned more than 3000 seats, and these thermæ (every where erected with such boundless magnificence), were replenished by those stupendous aqueducts, for which Rome was distinguished above all cities. Besides the buildings which particularly belonged to the baths of Caracalla, here was a great palace built by him, and schools for all sorts of exercises, with subterranean vaults extending underneath the whole.—W.

REGION XIII.

THE AVENTINE.*

1. Temple of Diana Communis.—2. Temple of Minerva.—3. Baths of Sura.—4. The Decian Baths.—5. Temple of the Moon.—6. Temple of Juno Regina.—7. Temple and Atrium of Liberty.—8. The Fabarian Portico.—9. The Emilian Portico.—10. Granaries of Lollius.—11. Sepulchre of Caius Cestius.—Monte Testaccio (not in map).

THE thirteenth region, besides the space it occupied on the Aventine hill, from which it derived its denomi-

* *The Aventine*.—The name of Mons Aventinus, has been much discussed by critics, a great variety of derivations being assigned for it. Eutropius expressly tells us that it was added to the city by Ancus Martius. “Contra Latinos dimicavit Aventinum montem civitati adjecit et Janiculum.” But A. Gellius asserts that this hill, being always reputed sacred, was never enclosed within the city till the time of Claudius. There is repeated mention of it in the Classics.

“Cubat hic in Colle Quirini.

Hic extremo in Aventino; Visendus uterque:

Intervalla vides humane commoda.”

HOR., Ep. ii. 2. 69.

“Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum templa capiunt.”—LIVY, i.

“Ancus acie primum vincit: inde, ingenti præda potitus, Romam redit, tum quoque multis millibus Latinorum in civitatem acceptis; quibus, ut jungeretur Palatio Aventinum, ad Murciæ datæ sedes. Janiculum quoque adjectum.”—*Ibid.*, i. 33.

“Usque adeo nihil est, quod nostra infantia cœlum

Hausit Aventini bacca nutrita Sabina?”

JUVENAL, Sat. 3.—W.

nation, extended also into the plain situated towards the Tiber, and is contained within the walls of Servius. In the centre of this region rose the Testaccio hill. Its circuit is stated by Victor to have been 16,200 feet, a measurement verified in this locality, without however comprising the part of the hill branching off towards the east, which formed part of the preceding region.

Temple of Diana Communis.—The most renowned monument that stood on the Aventine must have been the celebrated Temple* of Diana, built by Servius Tul-

* *Temple of Diana.*—"Sed et cæteros principes viros sæpe hortatus est ut pro facultate quisque monumentis vel novis, vel reffectis et excultis, urbem adornarent. Multaque a multis exstructa sunt : sicut a Marcio Philippo, ædes Herculis Musarum : a L. Cornificio, ædes Dianæ," &c.—SÜETON., in *Augusto*, 29.

There were many Temples of Diana at Rome, and of this particular one on the Aventine, Wright an old traveller, who visited Italy in the years 1720-22, thus speaks in his amusing book :—"The Church of S. Sabina, on Mount Aventine, was once a Temple of Diana, built by Servius Tullius. We saw there twenty-two antique pillars, Corinthian, fluted, and were told that two more are concealed by some wall that has been built up there. They show a very large piece of touchstone, which the Devil (they say) threw at S. Dominic, one night, as he was praying in this church : it fell upon the pavement and broke one of the stones, which is now fixed up in the wall of the church. There is an odd sort of a picture of that Saint in a *deliquium*. In one part of it is a dog with a lighted torch in his mouth ; a representation which is often repeated, particularly in the churches of the Dominicans, and is an emblem of the Inquisition, or has some allusion to it : and this is the more probable, because the Inquisition is wholly in the hands of the Dominicans. There is a fine chapel in this church, the altar-piece painted by Morandi ; and another above, where S. Dominic and two other saints used to watch whole nights in divine conversation (as,

lius, at the joint expense of all the Latin cities, in imitation of what had been done by the Ionians in building the Temple of Diana at Ephesus. This temple was rebuilt under Augustus by Lucius Cornificius as related by Suetonius. Its situation is proved by some verses of Martial to have been on the side of the Aventine facing the Circus Maximus.* But considering that this temple was erected in common with the Latins, and that Servius, according to Suetonius, composed there the laws for the Latin cities, amongst each other, it is probable that its *façade* was turned more towards Latium than to the circus. Bufalini, in his map of Rome, marked the position of this temple at a short distance from the church of S. Prisca, and there, in fact, it seems to have been placed, not however on the slope of the hill as supposed by Bufalini, but on the upper part, where there exist some remains of ancient walls, and precisely on the spot now a tufo cave, where some substructions of square stone and of reticular works are still seen, that must have belonged to some part of the building that was annexed to it. There also was probably discovered the room lined with gilt copper, and the pavement made with cornelian and agate, in which were found various instruments for the

says the inscription, *in divinis colloquiis vigiles pernoctarunt*) There is another which was the chamber of Pius V., now a chapel, &c. They shew still some old basso-relievos which did belong to the ancient temple, representing the taking of crocodiles."—W.

* "Quique videt propius magni certamina circi
Laudat Aventinæ vicinus sacra Dianæ."

MAR., vi. 64

sacrifice as related in the memoirs of Flaminius Vacca. Amongst the fragments of the ancient map of Rome there is one marked LXIII., in which is represented a temple of Minerva, with the indication of another temple adjoining it, and not of a house as stated by Bellerio, in his explanation of this fragment, on which was written the word *CORNIFICI*. Knowing that this Temple of Diana was built by Lucius Cornificius, I was led to believe that it represented the temple itself, and that from the name of the person who rebuilt it it was called Diana Cornificia. These indications suffice to establish the disposition of this temple in the manner in which it is designated in the topographical map of ancient Rome, and this gives a higher degree of interest to this fragment.

Temple of Minerva. — The Temple of Minerva designated in the above mentioned Capitoline marble, seems to have been the one registered in the catalogue of this region by Victor with the observation of being placed on the Aventine, and, in fact, in the *Notitiæ Catalogue* it is registered immediately after that of Diana. This vicinity is further proved by the inscription found amongst the ruins of the Temple of Diana respecting this Temple of Minerva Aventinensis, as stated by Fulvio Orsini in his *Roman antiquities*. The same inscription informs us, also, that near it was the *Armilustrum* registered in the Victor and the *Notitiæ Catalogues*.*

* The inscription attested by Fulvio, and transcribed by Grutero.

LAPIS . AVSP. S. Q. CAECILIO . METELLO
PONT. MAX. SOLLEMNI . CVM.

Baths of Sura.—Near the Temple of Diana, as mentioned in the verses of Martial cited above, was the habitation of Sura, supposed to be the person surnamed Licinius, who was consul under Nerva, and repeatedly so under Trajan. In the fragment of the ancient map of Rome, LXII, some baths are designated under the name of Sura, and these being disposed in the same manner as the ancient building whose ruins exist under the church of S. Prisca, the situation of these baths may be determined there with certainty, the more so, as in this locality they are near the Temple of Diana, and the Circus Maximus. Near these baths of Sura must have been the private house of Trajan, which is registered in Victor's Catalogue, and an inscription found near the S. Prisca church confirms its situation at this spot.*

PRAECATIONE . PAL . POP . ROM . CONJECTVS

IN . FVNDAMENTA . PORTICVS . MINER

AVENTINEVS . AB . LATER . COLL

VIC . ARMILVSTR . D

IN . NVNC . D . AVGV . AVSPI

TEMP . CONSECR

M . CAS CELL . AED . CVS

C.

The Armilustrum signified a review ; also a solemn feast at Rome, in which they sacrificed completely armed.

“ Armilustro visum est lapidibus pluere.”—LIVY.—W.

* The inscription touching the house of Trajan, transcribed by Panninius, is in the following words :—

HERCVLI

CONSERVATORI

DOMVS . VLPIORVM

SACRVM

M . VLPIVS

VERECVNDVS .

C.

The Church of S. Prisca on the Aventine, here mentioned, is

The Decian Thermæ.—In the difference of opinions occasioned principally by the Regionaries respecting the position of the Varian and Decian thermæ, it seems to me that we may decide that the latter alone were in this region, since, in examining the first catalogue of Victor, and that of the Notitiæ, the Decian thermæ only are registered; knowing besides that the Varian were situated in the Vicus Sulpicius it appears unreasonable to prolong that street to this region. Thus, these thermæ, completed by Varius Heliogabalus, were not the same as the Severianæ, situated in the first region, which, in the catalogue of the second Victor, are also called Varianæ, but formed a distinct building, and must evidently have been elsewhere. In Bufalini's map of Rome, sundry ruins of the Decian thermæ are noted in two places, namely,—under the Santa Balbina church, and at a short distance from that of Santa Sabina; but, considering that the situation of the Santa Balbina church formed part of the preceding region, there is still greater reason to suppose that to the Decian thermæ belonged the ruins designated near the church of Santa Sabina, and as these indications resemble a plan by Palladio not completed, in the designs of the Roman thermæ, and presuming that it was taken from these ruins, I have represented in the topographical map the entire disposition of these thermæ, according to these notions.

very ancient, and there is a tradition in Rome, that the church occupies the site of the house in which St. Peter baptized St. Prisca. It is heresy in Rome to doubt the assertion, changed into fact by the celebration of a festival, that St. Peter ever was in the Eternal City.—W.

Temple of the Moon.—The Temple of the Moon,* registered by Victor in this region, is proved by Nardius, by some verses of Ovid, and by a passage of Livy, in which he describes a storm that happened there, to have been situated on the top of the Aventine, towards the Clivus Publicius, which led to the hill on the side of the Forum Boarium, and consequently at a short distance from the church of Santa Sabina, above those ancient walls that support the hill towards the Tiber. This opinion, being supported by evidence, has been adopted in our topographical map.

*Temple of Juno Regina.**—Another passage of

* *Temple of the Moon.*—"Ver procellosum eo anno fuit. Pridie Parilia, medio ferme die, atrox cum vento tempestas coorta multis sacris profanisque locis stragem fecit. Signa ænea in Capitolio dejecit: forem ex æde Lunæ quæ in Aventino est, raptam tulit, et in posticis partibus Cereris templi adfixit: signa alia in Circo Maximo cum columnis, quibus superstabant evertit." —LIVY, xl. 2.—W.

† *Temple of Juno.*—Livy (xxi. 62.) recording a year of extraordinary prodigies, among other marvels tells us: "Et ædem Spei quæ est in Foro Olitorio, fulmine ictam: et Lanuvii hastam: (scil. Junonis Sospitæ) se commovisse: et corvum in ædem Junonis devolasse, atque in ipso pulvinario consedissee. . . . Jam primum omnium urbs lustrata est, hostiæque majores, quibus editum est, Diis cæsæ; et donum ex auri pondo quadraginta Lanuvium ad Junonis portatum est; et signum æneum matronæ Junoni in Aventino dedicaverunt."

In l. v. 22, the original translation of the Image of Juno from captured Veii to Rome is graphically narrated, and the dedication of this temple by Camillus, who had vowed it. "Quum jam humanæ opes egestæ a Veiis essent, amoliri tum Deûm dona ipsosque Deos, sed colentium magis quam rapientium modo, cœpere; namque delecti ex omni exercitu juvenes, pure lautis corporibus, candida veste, quibus deportanda Romam Regina Juno adsignata erat, venerabundi templum iniere, primo religiose

Livy determines the situation of the Temple of Juno Regina, built by Camillus on the top of the Aventine, after the conquest of Veii, the road to which was by the Clivus Publicius, and consequently it must have stood near the Santa Sabina church, above the same ancient substructions. This part of the Aventine over the Trigemina gate, and facing the Palatine, was celebrated amongst the ancients by the cave of Cacus,* the altar of Evander, and the Temple of Hercules, also denominated Victor, similar to the one in the Forum Boarium.

Temple and Atrium of Liberty.—In what part of the Aventine the temple and atrium of Liberty were situated, cannot well be defined; but following the indications of Bufalini in his map of Rome, the position of this temple may be determined at the spot now occupied by the S. Sabina church, and the atrium on the space between this church and that of S. Alessio. When, at the instigation of Augustus, this atrium was rebuilt

admoventes manus. . . . Dein quum quidam, seu spiritu divino tactus seu juvenali joco, ‘Visne Romam ire, Juno?’ dixisset, adnuisse cæteri Deam conclamaverunt: inde fabulæ adjectum est, vocem quoque dicentis ‘Velle,’ auditam. Motam certe sede sua parvi molimenti adminiculis, sequentis modo accepimus levem ac facilem translatu fuisse: integramque in *Aventinum*, æternam sedem suam, quo vota Romani dictatoris vocaverant, perlatam, ubi templum ei postea idem, qui voverat, *Camillus dedicavit*.”—W.

* *The Cave of Cacus, &c.*—For the cave of the monster Cacus, the altar of Hercules, &c., *vide* Evander’s story in the well-known and splendid passage, *Æneid* viii. 185—272, the Aventine being the scene of the heroic exploit.

“Ter totum fervidus ira
Lustrat Aventini montem: ter saxea tentat
Limina nequidquam; ter fessus valle resedit.” v. 230.—W.

by Asinius Pollio,* a Greek and Latin library was added to it, the first devoted to public use in Rome,

* *Asinius Pollio*.—Of this most distinguished Roman (orator, poet, historian, and no mean general) repeated mention occurs in the classics. He was the confidential friend of Augustus; and Horace, Virgil, and Tacitus have made him immortal.

“Plures hodie reperies, qui Ciceronis gloriam, quam qui Virgilii detrectent. Nec ullus Asinii aut Messalæ liber tam illustris est, quam Medea Ovidii, aut Varii Thyestes.”—TACIT. *Dial. de Orator.* 12.

Then in the splendid passage (*ibid.* 25). in which the great orators of antiquity are brought together, and their distinctive merits contrasted: how forcibly and in what company does he exalt the genius of Pollio.

“Sed quomodo inter Atticos oratores primæ Demostheni tribuuntur, proximum autem locum Æschines, et Hyperides, et Lysias, et Lycurgus obtinent; omnium autem consensu hæc oratorum ætas maxime probatur. Sic apud nos Cicero quidem ceteros eorundem temporum disertos antecessit. Calvus autem, et *Asinius*, et Cæsar, et Cælius, et Brutus, suo jure, et prioribus et sequentibus anteponuntur: nec refert, quod inter se specie differant, cum genere consentiant. Adstrictior Calvus, numerosior *Asinius*, splendidior Cæsar, amarior Cælius, gravior Brutus, vehementior, et plenior, et valentior Cicero; omnes tamen eandem sanitatem eloquentiæ ferunt,” &c.

Next glancing at the two great poets of the Augustan age, we have the name of Asinius Pollio transmitted in their undying verse to the remotest posterity as a poet, orator, statesman, and commander.

“Paulum severæ musa tragediæ
Desit theatris; mox, ubi publicas
Res ordinaris, grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno.

and it seems to have been situated on the sides of this temple. The atrium must have enclosed the temple on the front part. There exist other remains of ancient private buildings on the Aventine, principally on the

Insigne mœstis præsidium reis,
Et consulenti, Pollio, curiæ :
Cui laurus æternos honores
Dalmatico peperit triumpho."

HOR. *Od.* L. ii. 1.

So in *Ecl.* viii. of Virgil, which was dedicated to Pollio, his poetic genius and warlike skill are alike lauded.

"O, Pollio! leading thy victorious bands
O'er deep Timavus, or Illyria's sands;
O when thy glorious deeds shall I rehearse?
When tell the world how matchless is thy verse?
Worthy the lofty stage of laurell'd Greece,
Great rival of majestic Sophocles!"

WARTON.

Quinctilian (xii. 10), discussing the qualities of various eminent orators of a particular age, commends the diligence of Pollio. And in another memorable passage of his *Institutes*, he extols the invention, the judgment, and spirit of Pollio; but, at the same time, declares he fell so short of the suavity and splendour of Cicero, that he might well pass for an orator of a former age. After his magnificent comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero, and his vast praises of the latter, his words are: "*Apud posteros vero id consecutus, ut Cicero jam non hominis sed eloquentiæ nomen habeatur! Hunc igitur spectemus: hoc propositum nobis sit exemplum. Ille se profecisse sciat, cui Cicero valde placebit. Multa in Asinio Pollione inventio, summa diligentia: ideo ut quibusdam etiam nimia videatur: et consilii et animi satis: a nitore et jucunditate Ciceronis ita longe abest, ut videri possit seculo prior.*"—L. x. 1.—W.

slope towards Monte Testaccio, discovered in the time of Paul V., and the marbles of these ruins were employed to decorate the Borghese chapel at S. Maria Maggiore.

The Fabarian Portico.—Along the side of the hill, near the river, are ruins of ancient buildings, some of which are now used as warehouses for wood. In this place seems to have been the portico, situated near the Aventine, beyond the Trigemina gate, which, according to Livy, was joined by the Censors, Q. Fulvius Flaccus and Aulus Postumius Albinus, with the other portico, called the Emilian; and these ruins, may be supposed to have belonged to it. This portico, being situated on the banks of the river, evidently served as a deposit of merchandise of various kinds, as proved by the large rooms that were near the hill. It is seen by the ruins that remain, that this portico was formed of several rows, and on it probably stood the house of that Faberius the scribe, who, according to Vitruvius, had the cloister walls painted with *cinnabar*, from which seems to be derived the denomination given to the portico below, of Fabarius or Faberius, under which it is registered in the Victor and Notitiæ catalogues.

The Emilian Portico.—In the plain of this region, situated between the Testaccio hill and the Tiber, must have originally stood the other Emilian portico, which, according to Livy, was rebuilt by the before-named Censors. At this spot there exist remains of a large portico, but of a style of building that does not correspond to the times in which Livy asserts that the Emilian portico was rebuilt, for which reason, if these

ruins belonged to the said portico, it may be supposed that it had been restored in subsequent times, or that they formed part of some addition made afterwards. A small fragment of the ancient map of Rome, xxxiv, on which is written PORTICVS, and under this, in larger letters, AE, is supposed to have belonged to this Emilian portico; but, from the manner in which this inscription is carved on the marble, it evidently related rather to the portico of some sacred edifice or temple than to a simple portico like the Emilian, since AE are the first letters of AEDES. In front of this portico was evidently the large area called the Emporium, which, according to Livy, was, at the time the portico was rebuilt, paved with stones, and surrounded with posts or low walls. The same historian further states that a flight of steps was then made that led from the Tiber to the said emporium, and probably occupied the whole line in front of the Emilian portico. Some remains of large walls, still existing along the banks of the river, must have belonged to these steps, or to the walls subsequently raised to close the city on this side. Thus the *navalia*, or the station for vessels that came up the river, are proved, by various passages in the ancient writers, to have been on this same side of the river, in front of the Emilian portico and of the emporium. The ruins of ancient walls visible in the river at low water, situated under the Priory of Malta, seem to have formed part of some enclosure built with arches, in order not to impede the course of the waters, in a manner similar to what was practised by the ancients in moles of ports. The fragment of the ancient map of

Rome, LIII, on which is inscribed *NAVALEM FER.*, probably belonged to these *navalia*, and not to the spot supposed to have been also called *Navalia*, which was near the ancient *Porta Romanula* on the *Palatine*, as stated by *Bellorio* in his explanation of this inscription, since the fragment presents an indication of a vast area, such as must have been that of the above named *navalia*, and not closed within narrow limits, as was evidently the case with the one situated near the *Palatine gate*.

Granarii Lolliani, Galbiani and Candelari.—In the plain situated between the *Testaccio hill* and the *Tiber* were evidently placed the granaries registered in this region by *Victor* and the *Notitiæ*. In this locality *Bufalini* noted in his map of *Rome* some ruins of these edifices that existed at his time. Besides the granaries of *Anicetus* and of *Galba*, which are registered in the said *Regionary catalogues*, there seem also to have been those of *Lollius*, the disposition of which is preserved, together with that of some other private buildings, in the ancient map of *Rome*, xxxviii. Another fragment of the same map, xl, on which is written *PREA . . . ANA*, is supposed to relate to the granaries of *Galba* or *Galbianus*, registered in the *Notitiæ*.* In

* The following inscription relating to the granaries of *Galbianus*, has been preserved by *Pauvinius* :—

NVM. DOM. AVG.

GENIO . CONSERVATO

RI. HORREORVM

GALBIANORVM

M. LVRINVS.

FORTVNATVS

MAGISTER.

S. P. D. D.

C.

like manner the Candelari granaries, of which some traces remain in another fragment of the map of Rome, xxxix, also seem to have been situated here, and the arch with ancient walls still existing along the road leading to the S. Paolo gate, must have belonged to some of these granaries. Although several granaries existed in the other regions, these seem to have been in greater number, from the convenience they afforded of receiving the corn that came by the river, without any great land carriage, and for this reason the above-named granaries are believed to have been situated in this region. Before the construction of the Aurelian walls in this part of the city, these granaries were evidently placed along the banks of the river, as is in a certain manner indicated by the steps which are represented by lines along the buildings in the fragment relating to the Lollian granaries. Adjoining these granaries the forum Pistorium, registered in this region by Victor and by the Notitiæ, must have been situated, from the convenience it afforded the bakers to convey the corn required for their bread without too long a transport.

Doliolus.—The Testaccio hill existing in the middle of this plain is recognized by various writers as the Doliolus registered in this region by Victor and the Notitiæ, although it is proved, principally by Marini in the acts and memorials of the Arval brothers,* that this

* *Arvales Fratres*.—Twelve priests instituted by Romulus, whose office it was to lead the victims in procession thrice about their lands in the sacrifices to Bacchus and Ceres, for plenty of bread and wine.

It seems, Laurentia, the nurse of Romulus, had twelve sons, and the good woman once a year made a sacrifice for a blessing upon

denomination is improper, and that the Doliolus was situated elsewhere. In fact this hill is altogether formed of fragments of earthen vases or jars used for wine, oil, and other liquors of which the ancients made a great use. The makers of these vases, evidently living at this spot, had formed there deposits of those vases and vessels that were broken. (The word *dolium* in the Latin signifies a hogshead, tun, or any great vessel.)

Tomb of Caius Cestius.—Incorporated within the city walls, and near the San Paolo gate, there still exists, preserved entire, a sepulchral monument, built in imitation of the Egyptian pyramids, which, by the inscriptions on the west and east sides of the monument, is known to be that of Caius Cestius.*

the fields, her twelve sons assisting always in the solemnity. Laurentia lost one of her sons, when Romulus, through respect for his nurse, offered himself to fill up the number, and called the family party—"Fratres Arvales." This order was in great repute in Rome, deciding questions of boundary, and divisions of lands. They wore on their heads, at the time of their solemnities, crowns made of ears of corn, on a tradition that Laurentia at first presented Romulus with such an one.—W.

* C. CESTIVS . L. F. POB. EPVLO . PR. TR. PL.

VII. VIR. EPVLONVM

OPVS . ABSOLVTVM . EX . TESTAMENTO . DIEBVS . CCCXXX.

ARBITRATV

PONTI . P. F. CLA. MELAE . HEREDIS . ET . POTH . L.

This C. Cestius, whose name has been preserved by his pyramidal tomb, appears, from the inscription, to have been of the Poblician tribe, a Prætor and Tribune. He was also one of the Epulones, consisting originally of three, whose name was derived from a custom which prevailed among the Romans of purifying the Gods by feasting them in their temples, to which feast the statues of the Gods were brought on beds. The Epulones were charged with the duty of providing the banquet.

The pyramid, supposed to be of the age of Augustus, is 125

Aurelian, in building the city walls on this side, enclosed one half of the tomb within, and left the other half without the said walls.

With the tomb of Caius Cestius is completed not only what relates to the thirteenth region, but also all the part of the city that was situated on the left bank of the Tiber.*

feet high, and 100 at the base. There is in it a chamber covered with arabesques. This extraordinary pile would appear to have been completed in 330 days, and is likely to last for as many centuries to come. The situation of the pyramid increases the interest we feel in beholding so curious a memorial of republican Rome. It stands near the Protestant burying ground, where the ashes of many a noble heart repose in peace.—W.

* In the year 1663, when restorations were made to the sepulchre of Caius Cestius by the command of Alexander VII., there were discovered two pedestals, which, from the inscriptions carved on them, were recognised as having belonged to this tomb, and which proved the completion of the sepulchre by the heirs of Caius Cestius according to the directions of his will.

M. VALERIUS . MESSALLA . CORVINUS

P. RUTILIUS . LVPVS . L. JUNIUS . SILANUS

L. PONTIUS . MELA . D. MARIUS

NIGER . HEREDES . C. CESTI . ET

L. CESTIUS . QVAE . EX . PATRE . AD

EVM . FRATRIS . HEREDITAS

M. AGRIPPAE . MVNERE . PER.

VENIT . EX . EA . PECVNIA . QVAM

PRO . SVIS . PARTIBVS . RECEPER.

EX . VENDITIONE . ATTALICOR.

QVAE . EIS . PER . EDICTVM

AEDILIS . IN . SEPVLCRVM

C. CESTI . EX . TESTAMENTO

EIVS . INFERRE . NON . LICVIT.

The antiquary complains justly of the removal of these pedestals to the Capitoline museum. They should have been left upon the pyramid for the explanation of the monument on the spot.

The reader must not imagine from reading the description given

by Canina, that the Aventine now presents the faintest representation of what it was in the days when Rome flourished. Of the porticoes, libraries, temples, and the other celebrated and magnificent erections which once adorned the Aventine, scarce a trace remains, nor have their places been supplied by any modern buildings. There are a few churches without the possibility of a congregation, and a convent on the summit, tenanted by a few old and miserable monks. From the window of this convent may be had an extensive and striking view of Rome, and a part of its suburbs. The Tiber washes the base of the Aventine, and we can still recognise the ruins of the bridge which Cocles defended against Porsena's host,—

“In the brave days of old.”

No where does the desolation of modern Rome appear more complete than on the Aventine.—W.

REGION XIV.

TRANSTIBERINA.

1. Temple of Esculapius.—2. Temple of Jupiter.—3. Temple of Faunus.—4. Mausoleum of Hadrian.—5. Tomb of Scipio Africanus.—6. Area Septimiana.—7. Various Houses.

THE last region, called Transtiberina, from its position beyond the Tiber, having a perimeter of about 33,000 feet, as registered in the catalogue of Victor, could not be comprised within the space of Transtiberina alone, which was enclosed by the Aurelian walls, but seems to have extended even to the Vatican, and to have nearly occupied the space contained within the modern walls.

The Janiculum Fortress.—Considering, first, what is comprised in the part of Trastevere that was added to the city by Ancus Martius, it is easy to recognise at the spot now occupied by the Church and Convent of S. Pietro in Montorio, and by the large fountain of the Acqua Paolo on the Janiculum, the situation of the fortress formed there in the early times of Rome in order nearly to separate this portion from the remainder of the hill, that it might become stronger, and serve as a defence to those who navigated the river, since, as related by Dionysius, the Etruscans, who in ancient times occupied all the country situated beyond the

river), committed depredations on the Roman merchants. There remain, however, no traces of the walls raised in the early times of Rome to fortify this locality, and sufficient to unite it with the city; but there are indications whereby we can recognise the whole circuit of the Aurelian walls in all that part of Trastevere, at the extremity of which, towards the Tiber, were the Portuensis and Septimiana gates, and in the middle, corresponding to the top of the hill, the Aurelian gate. This side of Trastevere, enclosed by walls, communicated with the city by means of two bridges. The first, the remains of which are visible at low water under the Aventine, was called by the ancients the Sublician bridge, from the wood that originally composed the upper part, and this bridge, as affirmed by Dionysius, was first built when Ancus Martius enclosed this part of the Janiculum within walls. It was on this bridge that Horatius Cocles* stopped, alone, the advance of Porsenna's army until the bridge was cut asunder by his companions. The other was called the Palatine bridge, from its vicinity to the hill of that name, and this is recognised in the one situated near the church of S. Maria Egiziaca, and now called Ponterotto, from its half-ruined state. The indications that have come down to us of the public

* "And still his name sounds stirring
Unto the men of Rome,
As the trumpet-blast that cries to them
To charge the Volscian home;
And wives still pray to Juno
For boys with hearts as bold
As his who kept the bridge so well
In the brave days of old."

Lays of Ancient Rome, by MACAULAY.—W.

and private edifices that existed in this part of the Transtiberina region are uncertain; it is therefore difficult to fix their situation, and the more so as we have no precise information of the discoveries made in subsequent times.

Naumachia of Augustus. — Augustus, to exhibit naval combats to the people, excavated in the Transtiberina region, and in the part formerly occupied by the groves of Cæsar, a Naumachia which extended in length 1800 feet, and in breadth 1200, as is distinctly registered amongst the various works of Augustus in the celebrated Ancyrana inscription, and confirmed by Suetonius.* For the use of this Naumachia, Augustus brought from the Alsietine lake, the water so called, and also the water called Augustan from his own name, as attested by Frontinus. And as from the kind of spectacles exhibited in this Naumachia, the only form suited to such a place was that of an ellipsis, similar to that adopted in the amphitheatres, in which these naval games were also exhibited, it may be supposed that the above measures referred to the two axes of an ellipsis, and not to the sides of a rectangle as has been stated. The ground extending around the monastery and church of S. Cosimato, is the space that alone presents a plain area of so large an extension as that assigned to this Naumachia. This site while it

* NAVALIS . PROELII . SPECTACVLVM . POPVLO.
DEDI . TRANSTIBERIM . IN . QVO . LOCO . NVNC.
NEMVS . EST . CAESARVM . CAVATO . SOLO . IN.
LONGITVDINEM . MILLE . ET . OCTIGENTOS . PEDES.
IN . LATITVDINEM . MILLE . ERANT . ET . DVCENTI.

Mon. Ancirano, Tav. i., Suet. in Augusto, c. 43.

was without the circuit of the walls of Servius, which extended from the Tiber to the Janiculan rock, was, however, included in that of the Aurelian walls which embraced a larger space.

*Temple of Fortuna Fortis.**—As Varro clearly fixes the situation of the Temple of Fortuna Fortis, built by Servius Tullius, outside the walls along the course of the Tiber; and as Tacitus says that it was near the gardens left by Cæsar to the Roman people,† which we have already proved to have been where the Naumachia of Augustus was excavated, we may, with these indications, decide that the spot where this temple stood, was in the vicinity of the Naumachia, in the space near to the S. Michele hospital, which was beyond that part of the walls of Servius that extended to Trastevere.

Isola Tiberina.—Though there remain no ruins of the edifices that stood on the Isola Tiberina, comprised in this region, their position may yet be recognised by the descriptions contained in ancient authors. This island is said by Livy,‡ and by Dionysius, to have been

* Temple named Fortis Fortuna. This is mentioned by Livy also: “Æris gravis tulit in ærarium trecenta octoginta millia: de reliquo ære ædem Fortis Fortunæ de manubiis faciendam locavit, prope ædem ejus Deæ ab rege Ser. Tullio dedicatam.”—Book x. 46 and xxvii. 11.—W.

† “Fine anni arcus propter ædem Saturni . . . et ædes Fortis Fortunæ Tiberim juxta in hortis, quos Cæsar dictator populo Romano legaverat; sacrarium genti Juliæ, effigiesque divo Augusto apud Bovillas, dicantur.”—TAC. *Annal.* ii. 41.—W.

‡ *Insula Tiberina.*—This was between the Janiculum and city. The words of Livy are,—“Forte ibi tum seges farris dicitur fuisse matura messi; quem campi fructum quia religiosum erat

formed by the bundles of wheat taken from the fields of Tarquinius Superbus, which, having been thrown into the Tiber, stopped where they found an obstacle, and with the sands that accumulated by degrees, formed a solid place, which was afterwards surrounded with walls, and cut in the form of a ship, in memory of the one that brought the serpent from Epidaurus on the occasion of the plague that raged in the year 462 of Rome. There still remain under the church of S. Bartolomeo, ruins of the large walls that composed this enclosure. If the form given to this island was really similar to that of the vessel that brought the serpent, in ascending the river, the prow must have been turned towards the stream, that is towards the Ponte Sisto; and, in fact, ruins of walls were visible not long ago, that were separated by the Tiber from the remainder of the island, and formed, at low water, another small island, as marked in the well-known map of Nolli.

Pons Cestius.—The Isola Tiberina is joined to the city and to Trastevere by means of two bridges. The one leading to Trastevere is called Cestius merely because it is registered under this denomination in the Catalogue of Victor, nor can it be ascertained pre-

consumere, desectam cum stramento segetem magna vis hominum simul inmissa corbibus fudere in Tiberim, tenui fluentem aqua, ut mediis caloribus solet. Ita in vadis hæsitantis frumenti acervos sedisse inlitos limo. Insulam inde paullatim, et aliis, quæ fert temere flumen, eodem invectis, factam, postea credo additas moles, manuque adjutum, ut tam eminens area, firmaque templis quoque ac porticibus sustinendus esset.—Livy, ii. 5.”—W.

It was afterwards called the Holy Island, from the number of temples built on it.—W.

cisely who was the Cestius that built it. The inscriptions on the parapets of the bridge declare that it was restored or rebuilt by the Emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratianus (A.D. 364). Similar inscriptions must have been placed on the external fronts of the bridge, as proved by the following words that still remain:—

PONTEM . FELICIS . NOMINIS . GRATIANI.

The Fabrician Bridge.—The other bridge leading to the opposite part of the city was commonly called that of Fabricius, from the name existing in the following inscription engraved in large letters on the arches of the bridge:—

L. FABRICIVS . C. F. CVR. VIAR. FACIVNDVM.

COERAVIT . EIDEMQ . PROBAVIT.

Q. LEPIDVS . M. F. M. LOLLIVS . M. F. COS. EX. S. C. PROBAVERVNT.

Temple of Esculapius—In the catalogue of Victor three temples are registered in the *Isola Tiberina*; one dedicated to Esculapius, another to Jupiter, and the third to Faunus. The first of these, called that of Esculapius, from having been raised to the serpent brought from Epidaurus, and adored as a divinity, is proved by Nardini, chiefly on the authority of the verses of Ovid, to have been situated more towards the part of the island bathed by the water than it would have been if it had stood on the ground now occupied by S. Bartolomeo church, as supposed by several antiquarians.* This temple, the largest of those that were

* “ Quod tamen ex ipsis licuit mihi discere fastis.

Sacravere patres hoc duo templa die.

Accepit Phæbo nymphaque coronide natum

Insula, dividua quam premit amnis aqua.”

OVID., *Fasti*, i. 290.—C.

raised on the island, must therefore have stood in about its centre, and on the site facing the said church.

Temple of Jupiter.—By the verses of Ovid that follow those above cited, it is ascertained that the Temple of Jupiter was joined to that of Esculapius.* This junction, it seems, must be understood in the sense that these temples stood opposite to each other, and were united by a portico that formed the enclosure in front of the Temple of Esculapius, and which served to deposit the sick, and in this manner the two buildings were completely united within the same sacred precincts.

Temple of Faunus.—The third temple that stood on this island consecrated to Faunus, is shewn by some lines in Ovid to have been turned towards the stream, that is, to the Ponte Sisto.† Thus the three temples occupied a distinguished position in the island in such a manner as to make it appear a noble ship.

Area Septimiana.—In the Victor and Notitiæ catalogues the Area Septimiana is registered in this region, and in the fragment of the valuable Capitoline marbles marked xxxv, is noted the indication of an area together with that of the bridges, by which it is ascertained that this area must have commenced near these bridges of the Isola Tiberina, and that it extended towards the gate of the Servian walls which was known

* “Jupiter in parte est. Cepit locus unus utrumque,
Junctaque sunt magno templa nepotis avo.”

OVID., *Fasti*, i. 293.—C.

† “Idibus agrestis fumant altaria Fauni,
Hic ubi discretas insula rumpit aquas.”

OVID., *Fasti*, ii. 193.—C.

by the same denomination of Septimiana, where, on the authority of Spartianus, Septimius Severus erected one of the arches called Jani near the gate that took his name. Thus from the disposition of the line of walls in the Transtiberina region, and from the above-named indications of bridges in the plural, which could suit only those of the Isola Tiberina, it may be determined with probability that the Area Septimiana was prolonged from the Fabrician to the Janiculan bridge.

Various Houses in the region beyond the Tiber.—In a fragment of the Capitoline marbles, marked XIII, are traces of a spacious area, laid out in a manner which alone could leave a free course to the river; from this it may be inferred that it was adapted to the banks of the river, and that the houses marked on it must have belonged to that part of the region that was situated along the river between the Sublician and the Palatine bridges, as seen on the topographical map.

Circus of Nero.—In the part of Trastevere, situated beyond the ancient walls of Aurelian, as well on the top of the hill as at its base along the river, no remains exist of any large ancient building, with the exception of the bridge that from the city served to communicate with this part of Trastevere which, according to Victor, was called by the ancients the Janiculan bridge, from its leading to the Janiculum. This bridge having been rebuilt by Sixtus V., took its present denomination of Ponte Sisto. In the valley spreading from the northern extremity of the Janiculum to the Vatican hill, although from the immense buildings of S. Peter's Basilica erected

there, no ruin of an ancient edifice remains ; there are yet sufficient indications to enable us to recognise the exact situation of the Circus of Caligula and of Nero at this place. It is here that the splendid obelisk brought by order of Caligula from Egypt, to adorn the square of this circus, was discovered, which, under the pontificate of Sixtus V., was with such labour raised in the middle of the *Piazza di S. Pietro*. The inscription engraved on the obelisk, proves that it was brought to Rome by Caligula, and was consecrated to Augustus and to Tiberius. In erecting the Vatican Basilica, there were also found parts of the treble line of walls, and of the arches that sustained the seats round the circus. According to what is stated in a manuscript of Grimaldi, reproduced in the *Roma Sacra* of *Martinelli*, and repeated by various other writers, the circus was only 720 Roman palms long, and with the treble line of walls 400 palms broad ; the curve at the extremity was situated towards the beginning of the steps that led to the portico placed in front of the primitive Basilica, and the sides reached to the church of S. Martha, where the starting places are supposed to have been. Fontana in his large work on the Vatican, proves with greater probability that the curved part of this circus was situated towards the hill (and near the church of S. Martha), as frequently adopted by the ancients in similar circumstances, and he prolonged the sides of the circus till about the middle of the Piazza di S. Pietro, rendering in this manner its proportions more uniform with those of the other circi. This greater length is also verified by taking as a fixed point the spot where the obelisk was

found, which must evidently have been at the half of the Spina. This circus is stated by ancient authors to have been made in the gardens of Caligula and of Nero, which also contained porticoes that reached to the banks of the Tiber. These gardens seem to have been on the left side of the Via Triumphalis, which, from the neighbouring bridge, known by the same name, led towards Monte Mario. The ruins of this bridge are visible at the angle formed by the river under the hospital of S. Spirito.

Circus of Hadrian.—Near the gardens above mentioned, and on the other side of the Via Triumphalis towards the Hadrian mole, are placed the gardens of Domitian, in which there was another circus, as was seen by various excavations made under the pontificate of Benedict XIV; there were found on this occasion some parts of the foundations and of the galleries that supported the seats, together with the position where the spina and other parts of the circus stood. This circus was built expressly, by Hadrian, for the celebration of the games on the occasion of the recurrence of the 874th year of the foundation of Rome. It is further to be remarked, that along the western side of this circus, there was discovered part of the pavement of an ancient way which led to the Cassian and Flaminian ways, and constituted the private way called that of Hadrian, as proved by what is represented on a medal of that Emperor.

Mausoleum of Hadrian.—In the same gardens of Domitian, Hadrian built a very large mausoleum to serve as a sepulchre for his ashes, and those of the successive

princes of the empire. Of this celebrated monument there remains the principal mass, which has been made a fortress of modern Rome. The architecture of this mausoleum must have presented a truly grand and noble aspect, as it consisted of a large square basement, on which were raised the peristyles composed of columns that surrounded the upper part of the monument. Some small fragments of the ancient map of Rome, ix., seem to represent the upper part of this tomb, or that of Augustus in the Campus Martius. Opposite this mausoleum, Hadrian built the majestic bridge, still serving for the communication between the town and that part of Trastevere; from the name of that Emperor it was called, anciently, the Elian bridge, and in modern times St. Angelo, from the denomination of the adjoining fortress.

*Tomb of Scipio Africanus.**—Another large tomb of a pyramidal form, similar to that of Caius Cestius, but

* Mabillon has published from the memoirs of the traveller of the eighth century, the following inscriptions found in the Mausoleum of Hadrian:—

IMP. CAESER. DIVI. TRAIANI. PARTHICI. FILIVS

DIVI. NERVAE. NEPOS. TRAIANVS

HADRIANVS. AVGVSTVS. PONTIFF. MAXIM.

TRIBVNICIAE. POTES. XVIII. COS. III. P. P. FECIT.

In the southern part existed the inscription relating to Lucius, Elius, Aurelius Commodus, who was buried in this mausoleum:—

IMPERATORI. CAESARI. DIVI. MARCI. ANTONINVM. PII. GERMANICI
SARMATICI. FILIO. DIVI. PII. NEPOTI. DIVI. HADRIANI. PRONEPOTI.
DIVI. TRAIANI. PARTHICI. ABNEPOTI. DIVI. NERVAE. ADNEPOTI.

LVCIO. AELIO. AVRELIO. COMMODO. AVGVSTO. SARMATICO.

GERMANICO. MAXIMO. BRITANNICO. PONTIFICI. MAXIMO. TRIBVNICIAE
POTESTAT. XVIII. IMPERAT. VIII. CONSVLI. VII. PATRI. PATRIAE.

of larger size, existed down to the times of Alexander VI., who ordered it to be demolished in order to widen the street leading to St. Peter's, at the place situated beside the Traspontina church, as noted in Bufalini's map of Ancient Rome. By what may be inferred from a passage of Acron, the scholiast of Horace, this tomb is supposed to have been that of Scipio, surnamed Africanus, who was not buried in the tomb of his family, which was situated along the Via Appia near the Arch of Drusus.*

In the same place stood that of Lucius Aurelius Vero:—

IMP. CAESARI . AVRELIO

VERO . AVG. ARMENIC. MED.

PARTHIC . PONTIFIC . TRIBVNIC.

POT. VIIII. IMP. V. COS. III. P. P.

In the same part of the monument existed that of Lucius Elius Cæsar, the adopted son of Hadrian:—

L. AELIO . CAES. DIVI . HADRIANI

AVG. F. COS. II.

In another part of the monument we read the following, and chiefly amongst them, the inscription of the Emperor Antoninus Pius:—

IMP. CAESARI . T. AELIO . HADRIANO.

ANTONINO . AVG. PIO . PONTIF . MAXIM.

TRIB. POT. XXIIII. IMP. II. COS. III. P.

DIVAE . FAVSTINAE . AVGVSTAE.

IMP. CAES. T. AELII . HADRIANI . ANTONINI

AVG. PII. PONTIF. MAXIMI . TRIB. POT. IIII.

COS. III. P. P.

M. AVRELIVS . FVLVVS . ANTONINVS . FILIVS.

IMP. CAESARIS . T. AELII . HADRIANI . ANTONINI

AVG. PII. P. P.

C.

* Canina cannot intend to represent that Scipio Africanus was buried in Rome. The hero having been taxed with embezzlement of the public money in the wars with Hannibal, tore his

Via Triumphalis. — The above-mentioned tomb must have been situated along the celebrated *Via Triumphalis*, which, from the bridge known by that denomination existing at the angle formed by the river under the Santo Spirito hospital, led towards Monte Mario, evidently following the same direction as the *Via Recta* that crossed the *Campus Martius*. Along the same way, in its passage through the Vatican field, must have been the other tombs, remains of which are said to have existed till not far distant times, such as the one called that of Marcus Aurelius, and those of the Emperor Honorius and of his wife Maria. At the beginning of the ascent of the road to Monte Mario, an important inscription was found, which proved that this spot was half-way between the second and third mile of the *Via Triumphalis*, which must have commenced at the *Triumphal Gate* of the wall of *Servius Tullius*, near the *Forum Olitorium*, and that this ascent was also called the *Clivus Cinnæ*.

accounts before the eyes of the Roman people, then proudly summoned them to the Capitol to thank the Gods for the victory over Hannibal, of which that day was the anniversary. Scipio, disgusted by the ingratitude of his countrymen, retired to Linterna, a small city near Cumæ, where he died ; and, it is said, a monument, in the form of a tower, was erected to his memory, with this inscription :—

“ Ingrata patria, nec ossa
Quidem mea habes.”

W.

CHAPTER XVI.

Difference between Grecian and Roman Architecture.—Street Architecture of Rome.—Nero's projected Reforms.—Had the Houses Floors, Windows, or Chimneys?—How did the People Live.—Juvenal's Account of their Domestic Comforts.

WE have traversed the fourteen Regions of the famous city, and are amazed at the splendour of its temples, porticoes, baths, palaces.

With respect to the architecture of public buildings, remarkable differences between the Grecian and Roman systems may be specified. It is asserted the Greeks were ignorant of the use of the properties of the arch in building. Had they been acquainted with so admirable an expedient, they would have used it; and yet no example of the arch occurs in Greece before its connection with Rome. The Romans, on the other hand, seemed to have understood and availed themselves of the arch in their great works of utility, from the earliest times; and the construction of the *Cloaca maxima*, already described in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, is cited as an example to prove this. By help of the arch, the Romans could execute works more permanently useful with brick, than the Greeks without that invention could do with the finest marble. The architecture of the Greeks was peculiarly elegant in their temples, theatres, and public edifices; while that of the Romans was coarse and mean.

The Romans adopted the graceful architecture of Greece; but it is observable and curious they did not

relish the simple grandeur and dignified beauty of the Doric, but both at home and abroad, as we see from the remains this day, they employed the richly ornamented Corinthian order. It should be understood, that even after the accession of the emperors, Rome was built in a great measure of brick: this was the material of their greatest structures, as we see from the existing ruins of the Palatine. The Pantheon, except its portico and columns, is brick; there were no doubt many columns of marble, also edifices partially coated with the same material, and buildings and bridges of travertine stone, but the material generally used was brick.

Let us examine briefly what was the architecture of their streets, and the comfort of their houses.

It appears, from Tacitus, that before the fire in the reign of Nero, the streets of Rome were narrow, long, and winding, and without regular openings. After the conflagration, Nero designed to have the streets made wide and long, with an area before the doors of houses, and porticoes to adorn the front: what his rule was in reference to the height to which houses might be raised is not exactly known. Augustus limited the elevation to seventy feet; Trajan, to sixty. Every house, according to Nero's project, was to stand detached, surrounded with its own enclosure. That plan was magnificent; but Tacitus writes, that there were many advocates for the old system, as more conducive to the health of the inhabitants, because the narrowness of the streets, and the elevation of the buildings, excluded the rays of the sun; whereas the more open space, having neither shade nor shelter, left the inhabitants exposed to the intense heat of the day.— '*Erant tamen qui crederent, veterem illam*

formam salubritati magis conduxisse, quoniam angustiae itinerum, et altitudo tectorum non perinde solis vapore perrumperentur. At nunc patulam latitudinem, et nullâ umbrâ defensam, graviore æstu ardescere.”—We may now propose these simple questions, very material to discover what the domestic comforts of the Romans were—had their houses stairs, wooden floors, windows, or chimneys? The Romans were not expert domestic carpenters or joiners. Stairs were not common, and those they did construct, inconvenient and mean: stucco was used instead of wainscoting; and the better opinion appears to be, the masters of the world did not enjoy the luxury of floors, windows, or chimneys in their ordinary dwellings. It is obvious the ruins of the public buildings, baths, and temples cannot assist us in this inquiry. All English travellers visit and examine the ruins of the magnificent villa of Hadrian at Tivoli; few investigate what its appearances represent on this question. There are no indications of windows or stairs of any size. The rooms are supposed to have been open at one end to admit light and air, the roofs to have been vaulted, with terraces above for recreation. The floors were of mosaic: this is certain, for they in part remain.

It has been sensibly remarked, we can best comprehend what the domestic architecture of Rome was by observing that of Pompeii and Herculaneum, which we can see to an extent sufficient to enable us to form an opinion: luxurious and wealthy Roman nobles had houses in these delightful cities, which met a fate so awful. The house in Pompeii was most probably of a character similar to that in Rome, although the habita-

tion of the opulent citizen in the latter city was doubtless on a grander scale. Now those who have visited Pompeii remember the streets were narrow, fifteen or twenty feet wide at most. I might describe the basement stories as consisting of cells, which opening towards the streets, were used as shops; the doors answering for windows, as may be seen in parts of Italy to this day. It does not appear there were windows to the apartments in Pompeii; the floors were of mosaic, coarser or finer, according to the wealth of the owners. They did not evidently understand the application of timber to the purposes of flooring. During several months of the year, timber flooring would be just as necessary in Italy as in England, and accordingly is so used at the present time. The roofs of the houses in Pompeii and Herculaneum were all destroyed, so we cannot ascertain their structure. The rooms in Pompeii, for sleeping and ordinary purposes, seem to have been generally without windows, so that sufficient light was possibly wanted to enjoy the elegant drawings on the walls.

But, although the manufacture of glass was known to the Romans, and it has been discovered, I believe near Naples, in ruins of old buildings and even tombs, yet it has never been proved the Romans were accustomed to use glass windows as we do, to exclude air and admit light. There were found, it is asserted, two glass windows (one of them being very curious and elaborate) in Pompeii, but it is not pretended such windows were generally in use. What a prodigious distinction does not the use of glass alone make between our comforts and the boasted enjoyments of the most luxurious of the ancients!

Lastly, had the houses chimneys? No traces of such appeared in Herculaneum or Pompeii, but the braziers, by means of which the apartments were heated, were discovered in the ruins; and it is believed that fires for culinary purposes were contained in gratings over a sort of stove, but without flues, and that charcoal was alone employed for domestic uses. If we direct our attention to Ancient Rome, we find this homely question fully discussed, in a curious and learned essay in the German Professor Beckman's "History of Inventions;"* and the result of the inquiry seems to be that the Romans, in their common dwelling-houses, had not the comfort of chimneys, that is funnels in the walls, for conveying the smoke from the fire-place through the different stories to the summit of the edifice. It does appear strange that so great a people should not have devised means to keep their splendid dwellings and costly furniture free from smoke. The classical references of the professor are copious and instructive: he naturally relies on the directions of Columella to make the kitchens so high that the roofs should not catch fire, as proof that there were no funnels; nor does he forget the adventure (tending to the like proof) which befel the landlord at Beneventum, when providing the entertainment for Mæcenas and his delightful party, so humorously narrated by Horace:—†

"At our next inn our host was almost burn'd,
While some lean thrushes at the fire he turn'd;
Through his *old kitchen* rolls the god of fire,
And to the roof the vagrant flames aspire.
But hunger all our terrors overcame,
We fly to save our meat, and quench the flame."

* Translated by Johnson.

† Fifth Satire, 1st book. I might add from the same satire—

Had there been chimneys in the Roman houses, Vitruvius would not have failed to describe their construction. He does not say a word on this subject; neither does Julius Pollux, who carefully collected the Greek name of every part of the dwelling-house; and Grapaldus, who in later times made a like collection of the Latin terms, has not given a Latin word expressive of a modern chimney. *Caminus*, signifies a furnace, a smith's forge, or a hearth for the portable stove. The wood was lighted in the stove, and carried into the apartments; and the traveller remembers this offensive practice exists in Italy to the present day. There are, in the Pope's palace in the Quirinal, many chambers heated only in this manner. The practice is general in Ancona, where funnels are not common; and therefore we may infer the custom was universal amongst the ancients. On me the charcoal braziers always had a stifling effect, in so much that I could never endure the chimneyless apartments in which they were used. Coals, Winkleman writes, were found in some of the rooms in the city of Herculaneum, but no chimneys. The preponderance therefore of our domestic enjoyments in our dwellings over the proud Romans appears to be immense; and we can understand, having such cheerless, smoky habitations, why the mass of the people rushed to the Forum, public theatres, porticoes, and why they required the frequent use of the bath. Street architecture, as we understand it, was unknown amongst the Romans, they bestowed all their taste and splendour to their public buildings and their tombs.

It is difficult to believe Nero's magnificent plan of

“ ——— lacrymoso non sine fumo
Udos cum foliis ramos urente *Camino*.”—W.

of widening the streets, and building spacious houses of a moderate height, could ever have been accomplished. Juvenal lived long after the reign of that monster ; and we have, in his “ Third Satire,” a graphic picture of the vices of the rich and wretchedness of the poor, especially in their dwellings, which were expensive and miserable :—

“ Magno hospitium miserabile, magno
Servorum, ventres, et frugi cœnula magno.”

“ At Rome ’tis worse, where house-rent by the year,
And servants’ bellies cost so dev’lish dear,
And tavern bills run high for hungry cheer.”

He exhorts the poor to emigrate from Rome, where all live in “ ambitious poverty.” The lines following “ *Quis timet, aut timuit,*” show clearly the perilous condition of the habitations in which the poor dwelt :—

“ Who fears in country towns a house’s fall,
Or to be caught betwixt a riven wall ?
But we inhabit a weak city here,
Which buttresses and props but ’scarcely bear,
And ’tis the village mason’s daily calling
To keep the world’s metropolis from falling,
To cleanse the gutters, and the chinks to close,
And for one night secure his lord’s repose.
At Cumæ we can sleep quite round the year,
Nor falls, nor fires, nor nightly dangers fear ;
While rolling flames from Roman turrets fly,
And the pale citizens for buckets cry.

That the houses were dear and dark, we may collect from the lines, “ *Si potes avelli Circensibus :*”—

“ But, could you be content to bid adieu
To the dear play-house, and the players too,
Sweet country-seats are purchased ev’rywhere,
With lands and gardens, at less price than here
You hire a darksome dog-hole by the year.”

That the streets were narrow and noisy, we are also assured by the same poet :—

“ What house secure from noise the poor can keep,
When e'en the rich can scarce afford to sleep?
So dear it costs to purchase rest in Rome,
And hence the sources of diseases come.
The drover who his fellow-drover meets
In narrow passages of winding streets,
The waggoners that curse their standing teams,
Would wake ev'n drowsy Drusus from his dreams.”

That the furniture in such dwellings was miserable we could guess, even had we not the feeling description of Codrus, the starved poet, and his little wife :—

“ Codrus had but one bed, so short, to boot,
That his short wife's short legs hung dangling out.”

It is impossible not to be affected with compassion for people so unpleasantly situated ; and, certainly, if there be as much truth as satire in the masterly description of Juvenal, the condition of the bulk of the inhabitants in Imperial Rome must have been wretched.

CHAPTER XVII.

SKETCH OF THE VICISSITUDES OF THE CITY.

“The City that, by temperance, fortitude,
And love of glory, towered above the clouds,
Then fell.
Still o’er the mind maintains, from age to age,
Her empire undiminished.”

WE have contemplated Rome in her glory and during the period of her decay. Let us glance briefly at the vicissitudes of the Eternal City.

The conversion of the Emperor Constantine, and the removal of the seat of empire to the banks of the Bosphorus, necessarily caused the desertion and neglect, as the subsequent downfall of the Western Empire accelerated the destruction of Rome. The principal edifices added to the city, after Constantine embraced Christianity, were churches, some of which were built out of the materials of ancient Pagan temples and of the glorious fabrics of the Empire; others were formed by the alteration of the Imperial Basilicas, fabrics anciently used as halls of justice and commerce. The name Basilica is now confined to seven churches, all said to have been founded by this Emperor, namely St. Peter’s, St. John Lateran, Santa Maria Maggiore, and Santa Croce in Gerusalemme within the city, with San

Paolo, San Sebastiano, and San Lorenzo, beyond the walls.*

The Chevalier Bunsen has written a profound book on the Basilicas of Christian Rome, which casts a new light on the history of the early Christians. By examination of these ecclesiastical fabrics, we might, with tolerable accuracy, discover the idea which the Christians of the first centuries had formed of a church. The Basilica was derived from the Greek, adopted by the Romans, and converted into a place of worship by the Christian world. There was at first the Portico, Greek (this appears from the descriptions by Canina); secondly, there was the Roman Hall of Justice and the Exchange, a popular building resorted to by the people for law and commerce. And lastly, we have this building converted into the earliest place of worship of the Christians. The form may be understood by examining such a Basilica as Maria Maggiore. The avenue in the centre, now the nave, divided by two rows of columns from the side aisles; then an avenue which crossed the other in the centre, or nearly so; this must have been the middle of the Roman Hall of Justice: and here is now what is called the Altar, where originally stood the table of Communion partaken of by the whole congregation, clergy and people. The building terminates by a semicircular recess, called the tribune, where the Roman Prætor, for convenience and dignity sat on an elevated bench, the judgment-seat; and here the Christians having adorned the tribunal with representations in mosaic of sacred subjects, properly placed their bishop.

* Nine Basilicas are described by Canina in *Ancient Rome*.

The additions to the public buildings of Rome for some centuries consisted, as I have said, of churches, the numbers being computed to be,—new churches in the fifth century, 36; in the sixth, 4; in the seventh, 17; in the eighth, 12; in the ninth, 14.

Misery and wretchedness, unequalled in the history of the world, overspread Italy in the last age of the Empire. That beautiful and fertile country was almost reduced to the condition of a desert. As to the city of Rome, it is commonly supposed the hostile attacks of the Barbarians had the greatest effect in destroying the memorials of its ancient splendour; but a few dates dispel this misconception. The Goths evacuated Rome on the sixth day after they had taken it, the Vandals the fifteenth, and though it be far more difficult to build than to destroy, their hasty assaults would have made a slight impression on the solid piles of antiquity.

“Alaric and Genseric affected to spare the buildings of the city. They subsisted in strength and beauty under the auspicious government of Theodoric, and the momentary resentment of Totila was disarmed by his own temper, and the advice of his friends and enemies.” *

The time of the barbarians was precious; gold and silver, and valuable portable articles, were the natural objects of their booty; a more certain cause of destruction than their sudden assaults, was the supplying Charlemagne and Robert of Sicily with the marbles of Rome for their palaces in Aix la Chapelle and Naples.

During the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries,

* Gibbon.

the city consisted of churches and monasteries, and huge unshapely towers, or strongholds of the nobility. A ferocious aristocracy created some new fortresses, but generally seized on the noblest architectural buildings of the Empire, whether of ornament or utility, and converted them into places of strength or attack during their bloody feuds. These men had no respect for the living nor reverence for the dead; monuments of the piety of other ages, tombs and sepulchres they desecrated and abused. A huge ugly tower, called Tor di Centi, exists still at the side of the Quirinal, which gives a good idea of the edifices erected in these ages.

Pausing in our brief sketch of the twelfth century to discover what existed then of the remains of antiquity, we find a description of the city written about the year 1200, referred to by the author of the *Decline and Fall*, entitled "*Liber de mirabilibus Romæ*," in which this "barbarous topographer," as Gibbon styles him, describes and enumerates, seven theatres, eleven baths, twelve arches, and eighteen palaces, as then existing.* It is apparent, therefore, writes the historian, that many stately monuments of antiquity survived till a late period, and that the principles of destruction acted with vigorous and unceasing energy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The incessant and sanguinary feuds of the detestable nobles with each other and with the people, were the principal causes of the ruin of the massive architectural remains which till then had existed

* Hobhouse questions the accuracy of this statement, page 139 of the "Historical Illustrations."

“In comparing (says Gibbon) the *days* of foreign, with the *ages* of domestic hostility, we must pronounce that the latter have been far more ruinous to the city; and our opinion is confirmed by the evidence of Petrarch. ‘Behold,’ says the Laureat, ‘the relics of Rome, the image of her pristine greatness! neither time, nor the barbarian, can boast the merit of this stupendous destruction: it was perpetrated by her own citizens, by the most illustrious of her sons; and your ancestors (he writes to a noble Annibaldi) have done with the battering-ram, what the Punic hero could not accomplish with the sword.’” *

Add to the above-mentioned causes the operation of fire, inundations, and earthquakes, and our surprise may well be excited that even so much has remained to us of the buildings of the imperial times.

“The art of man is able to construct monuments far more permanent than the narrow span of his own existence, yet these monuments, like himself, are perishable and frail; and, in the boundless annals of time, his life and his labours must equally be measured as a fleeting moment;”

A just and beautiful reflection of the historian.

The ecclesiastical Rome of the middle ages was ruined during the period (from 1276 to 1376) in which the popes abandoned the city, and fixed their seat at Avignon, when the population amounted only to 30,000 people.

“The Rome of the lower and middle ages was a mass of irregular lanes, built upon, or amongst ruins, and surmounted by brick towers, many of them propped on ancient basements. The streets were as narrow as those of Pompeii

* Vol. xii. p. 417.

or old Rome; two horsemen could with difficulty ride abreast." *

Let us now turn to the description of this period, by the masterly pen of Ranke:—

“ Our minds are familiar with the grandeur and magnificence of Ancient Rome, which the remains of art, and the records of history, have been explored to bring before us, nor did her glories in the middle ages deserve less attentive research. This second Rome was august with the majesty of her Basilicas, the religious services of her grottoes and catacombs, the patriarchal temples of the popes (in which the relics of the earliest Christianity were preserved), the still splendid imperial palace which belonged to the German Kings, and the fortified castles raised by independent clans, as if in defiance of the numerous powers by which they were surrounded. During the absence of the Popes in Avignon, this Rome of the middle ages had sunk into equal decay with that Ancient Rome which had so long lain in ruins.

“ When Eugenius IV. returned to Rome in the year 1443, it was become a city of herdsmen; its inhabitants were not distinguishable from the peasants of the neighbouring country. The hills had long been abandoned, and the only part inhabited was the plain along the windings of the Tiber; there was no pavement in the narrow streets, and these were rendered yet darker by the balconies and buttresses which propped one house against another; the cattle wandered about as in a village. From San Silvestro to the Porta del Popolo, all was garden and marsh, the haunt of flocks of wild ducks. The very memory of antiquity seemed almost effaced; the Capitol was become the Goats' Hill, the Forum Romanum the Cows' Field; the strangest legends were associated with the few remaining monuments.”

* Hobhouse's Illustrations.

It was in the reign of this Pope Eugenius that the learned Poggius visited Rome, and seated on the Capitoline hill in melancholy musings, composed what Gibbon calls an elegant moral lecture on the vicissitudes of fortune. Surely no work of modern travels contains a passage equally beautiful and affecting; it is, moreover, the description by an eye-witness of the aspect of the city in the fifteenth century.

“ Her primæval state, such as she might appear in a remote age, when Evander entertained the stranger of Troy, has been delineated by the fancy of Virgil. This Tarpeian rock was then a savage and solitary thicket: in the time of the poet, it was crowned with the golden roofs of a temple; the temple is overthrown, the gold has been pillaged, the wheel of fortune has accomplished her revolution, and the sacred ground is again disfigured with thorns and brambles. The hill of the Capitol, on which we sit, was formerly the head of the Roman empire, the citadel of the earth, the terror of kings; illustrated by the footsteps of so many triumphs, enriched with the spoils and tributes of so many nations. This spectacle of the world, how is it fallen! how changed! how defaced! the path of victory is obliterated by vines, and the benches of the senators are concealed by a dunghill. Cast your eyes on the Palatine Hill, and seek, among the shapeless and enormous fragments, the marble theatre, the obelisks, the colossal statues, the porticoes of Nero’s palace: survey the other hills of the city, the vacant space is interrupted only by ruins and gardens. The Forum of the Roman people, where they assembled to enact their laws and elect their magistrates, is now enclosed for the cultivation of pot-herbs, or thrown open for the reception of swine and buffaloes. The public and private edifices, that were founded for eternity, lie prostrate, naked and broken, like the limbs of a mighty

giant ; and the ruin is the more visible from the stupendous relics * that have survived the injuries of time and fortune."

Thus we have before us a faithful description of Rome nine hundred years after the fall of the Western Empire.

Pope Nicholas having regained the obedience of all Christendom, conceived the idea of employing the wealth he had acquired by the concourse of pilgrims to the jubilee, in adorning Rome with such buildings as that all should instantly perceive and acknowledge that it was indeed the capital of the world. This, however, could not be accomplished by the labours of any one man.

Much was done by the warrior Julius II, who ascended the papal throne in 1503.

Under his reign, the lower city which had retreated to the banks of the Tiber, was completely restored.

* These relics are minutely described by Poggius. Besides a bridge, an arch, the pyramid of Cestius, and a sepulchre, he discovered a double row of vaults in the Capitol, bearing the name of Catulus :—eleven temples were in part discernible, " from the perfect form of the Pantheon, to the three arches, and a marble column of the (so called) Temple of Peace, which Vespasian had erected after the civil wars and the Jewish triumph." The Triumphal Arches of Titus, Severus, and Constantine, were entire, the Columns of Trajan and Antonine, were still erect, " but the Egyptian Obelisks were broken or buried." Of the vast and splendid public baths (Thermæ), few presented any perfect remains ; but those of Diocletian and Caracalla still retained the names of their founders, while those of Constantine, Alexander, and Domitian, were traceable. The Mausoleum of Augustus and Hadrian survived ; the former as a mound of earth, the latter, as a modern fortress, under the name of the Castle of St. Angelo.

The communication between the banks had been improved by the bridge built by Sixtus IV., and buildings increased on both sides.

“ On the southern side (writes Ranke) Julius did not rest satisfied with the project of the Church of St. Peter, which arose majestically under his direction, he also restored the palace of the Vatican. He erected the Loggie, a work of consummate beauty of conception. Not far from hence his cousins, the Riari, and his treasurer, Agostino Chigi, rivalled each other in the beauty of the houses they constructed ; that of Chigi, the Farnesina, admirable for the perfection of its plan, and decorated by the matchless hand of Raffaello is unquestionably the superior. On the northern side of the river posterity is indebted to Julius II. for the completion of the Cancellaria, with its cortile, executed in those pure and harmonious proportions which render it the most beautiful court in existence. His cardinals and barons emulated his example ; Farnese's palace has acquired the reputation of the most perfect in Rome, from its vast and magnificent entrance ; Francesco de Riario boasted that his would stand till tortoises crawled over the face of the earth ; while the Medici filled their abode with every treasure of literature and of art, and the Orsini adorned theirs, at Campofiore, within and without with statues and pictures. Foreigners (says this graphic writer) do not always devote the attention they deserve to the remains around Campofiore and the Piazza Farnese, belonging to this splendid period, which so boldly entered the lists with antiquity. It was a period of emulation, genius, fertility, universal prosperity. As the population increased buildings arose on the Campo Marzo and around the mausoleum of Augustus.”

Many other great improvements were also made, as might be supposed, under Leo X.

“ The ruins of Rome were regarded with a kind of reli-

gious veneration ; in them the divine spark of the antique spirit was recognised with a sort of rapture. That pope listened to the recommendation to preserve those things which are all that remain of the ancient mother of the glory and the greatness of Italy."

The city of Rome had recovered much of its splendour and great wealth when it suffered the siege and more terrible occupation by the troops of Charles V., under Clement VII., in 1527 : this is an important era in the annals of destruction. The details of this siege have been already given in the sketch drawn up of the Medici. Enough to say, never did a richer booty fall into the hands of a more remorseless army ; never was there a more protracted and more ruinous pillage. The remark of Sir J. Hobhouse upon the narrative of this sack of Rome, is not a little curious, and seems unfounded.

"The sack of Rome by the troops of Charles V. has been loudly proclaimed more detrimental than that of the Goths. The complaint, however, comes from those who thought no hyperbole too extravagant to heighten the picture of that calamity."

We have three accounts by celebrated historians, of the siege of Rome, by the troops of Charles, agreeing as to the ruinous consequences of that event to the city, Robertson, Gibbon, and Ranke, the last inferior to neither of our English historians in ability or research, writes :—

"The splendour of Rome fills the beginning of the sixteenth century, it marks the astonishing period of development of the human mind,—with *this day* it was extinguished for ever."

The passage from Guiccardini, cited by Sir J. Hobhouse in his note, is decisive to shew that many statues, columns, precious ornaments, and memorials of antiquity were destroyed.* It is impossible to believe the solid remains of the fabrics of old Rome could have escaped uninjured, the pope himself was besieged in the tomb of Hadrian, then the castle of St. Angelo.

After this tempest of destruction had swept over the city, in 1559, Pius IV. laboured in the work of improvement and restoration. He conceived the project of building again on the deserted hills. He founded the palace of the Conservatori, on the Monte Capitolino. On the Viminale Michael Angelo constructed, by his order, the magnificent church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, out of the ruins of the baths of Diocletian. The Porta Pia on the Quirinale also attests his useful labours.

* The historical illustrations of the fourth canto of "Childe Harold," a valuable and ingenious book, the last chapter of "Gibbon's History," chapter viii. of the second volume of Mr. Spalding's "Italy," and the first volume of "Ranke's History of the Popes," furnish much instructive matter upon the subject of this chapter. Whether Hobhouse's criticism on the last chapter of Gibbon be correct, namely, that it should have been "his first composition written while his memory was freshly stamped with the image of the ruins which inspired his immortal labours," I shall not presume to say, although the historian's facts are generally admitted to be accurate, while his reasoning is often questionable, and his sneers detestable; but, undoubtedly the traveller, who bends his steps to Rome, should read the last chapter of "The Decline and Fall" *first*, and carefully, as he will not procure it, nor any of the books of I have referred to, excepting perhaps Mr. Spalding's, in Rome, unless the government of the Pope has been radically reformed or radically abolished.—W.

“These were, however, but vain labours, so long as the hills were without water.”

We now arrive at the latest epochs of importance in the history of the city, namely, the reign of Pope Sixtus V. He ascended the Papal throne in 1585, and his name has been stamped on the memories of men. The period here referred to must be clearly preserved in our minds, for this extraordinary pope, while he imitated the useful magnificence of the emperors, retained in some things the perverted taste of a monk. He improved Rome vastly, while no Goth ever entertained so deadly a hatred towards the glorious remains of antiquity. What can be more terse or characteristic than the description of his architectural reforms by Ranke? He resolved to supply the city with water by means of colossal aqueducts.

“He did it,” as he said, “in order that these hills which even in early Christian times were graced with Basilicas distinguished for the salubrity of the air, the pleasantness of the situation, and the beauty of the views might be once more inhabited. We have, therefore,” adds he “suffered ourselves to be deterred by no difficulty or expense.”

In fact, he told the architects from the very beginning, that he would have a work which might compete with the magnificence of Imperial Rome. For a distance of twenty-two miles from the Agro Colonna, in despite of all obstacles, he conducted the Acqua Martia partly underground, partly on lofty arches to Rome. At length the pope had the lively satisfaction of seeing a stream of this water flow into his own vineyard: he carried it onward to Santa Susanna on the Quirinale,

calling it after his own name, Acqua Felice, and it was with no slight self-complacency that he erected in commemoration of his success, a statue of Moses striking the rock. This aqueduct was a work of the greatest utility, not only to that district, but to the whole city.

The Acqua Felice gives 20,537 cubic *mètres* of water in twenty-four hours, and feeds twenty-seven fountains. The buildings on the heights now proceeded with great activity, which Sixtus stimulated by the inducement of peculiar privileges. He levelled the ground around Trinita de' Monti, and laid the foundations of the flight of steps to the Piazza di Spagna, which forms the shortest communication between that height and the lower city. Here he laid out Via Felice and Borgo Felice, and opened the ways which still lead in all directions to Santa Maria Maggiore; intending to connect all the basilicas with that church by spacious streets. "Rome nearly doubled her size, and sought again her old abodes."

He differed from his predecessors utterly as to the value of Roman architecture:—

"The Franciscan had no sense which could apprehend the beauty of the remains of antiquity. The Septizonium of Severus, a most remarkable work, which had survived the storms of so many centuries, found no favour in his eyes. He utterly demolished it, and transported some of its pillars to St. Peter's. He was as rash and reckless in destroying as he was zealous in building, and it was universally feared that he would observe no moderation in either. He said he would clear away the ugly antiquities, but would restore the others which stood in need of restoration. Will it be believed which he thought ugly? The tomb of Cœcilia

Metella, even then the only considerable vestige of republican times,—an admirable, sublime monument,—he had doomed to utter demolition. What may he not have destroyed ?”

The following sentences exhibit the genius of the monk in the highest perfection :—

“ He could hardly bring himself (continues the historian), to endure the Laocoon and the Apollo Belvidere in the Vatican ; nor would he even suffer the statues with which the citizens of Ancient Rome had adorned the Capitol, to remain there ; *he declared he would pull down the Capitol if they were not removed.*

“ They were Jupiter Tonans between Apollo and Minerva, of which the two former were in fact removed ; the Minerva alone was suffered to remain, but under the character which Sixtus chose to impose upon her, viz., that of Christian Rome. *He took away her spear and substituted for it an enormous cross.* In the same spirit he restored the pillars of Trajan and Antonine ; from the former he caused the urn to be taken away, which was said to contain the ashes of the Emperor (*oh sacrilege !*) this he dedicated to the Apostle Peter, and the other to the Apostle Paul ; and from that time the statues of the two apostles have stood opposite to each other on this airy height, overtopping the houses. Sixtus imagined that he thus gave a triumph to the Christian faith over Paganism.”

Pope Sixtus was zealous in the erection of the obelisk in the front of St. Peter's, because he wished to see the monuments of impiety subjected to the cross, *on the very spot* where once the Christians suffered the death of the cross. This was quite characteristic of the man.

To raise this immense obelisk entire from its prostrate condition near the sacristy of the old church, was

a labour of immense difficulty. Nine hundred men were engaged in executing the task, and they began by hearing mass. There were thirty-five windlasses: two horses and ten men worked each. They were turned at the signal by trumpet. The weight of the obelisk was a *million Roman Pounds*. It was then let down on rollers and conveyed to its new destination in the Piazza of St. Peter's, where it was erected on Wednesday, 10th September, which the Pope regarded as a *lucky day*. Its height is 132 feet. Fontana, the architect, availed himself of the description by Ammianus Marcellinus, of the last raising of an obelisk. The Pope declared he had succeeded in the greatest human enterprise — had medals struck and poems written to commemorate the event. He put an inscription upon it, boasting he had wrested this monument from the Emperors Augustus and Tiberius, and devoted it to the Cross enclosing on its summit a piece of the wood of the *true cross*.

I ought to add, several of the obelisks now forming such striking ornaments of Rome, were elevated by Sixtus V., namely, the obelisk opposite the church of St. Maria Maggiore,—also that near St. John Lateran, and the graceful obelisk covered with hieroglyphics standing in the Piazza del Popolo,—a wonderful memorial of antiquity, and brought to Rome from Egypt by Augustus Cæsar.*

* It was placed by him in the Circus Maximus, and dedicated anew to the sun. An inscription is here given, which was affixed on its erection by Sixtus Quintus, alluding to its position before the Church of S. Maria del Popolo, "*Ante sacram illius ædem angustior latiorque surgo, cujus ex utero Virginali, Aug. imperante sol justitiæ exortus est.*"

As to the improvements of Pope Sixtus. The cupola of St. Peter's was still wanting, and the builders required ten years for its completion. Sixtus was willing to furnish money for this purpose, but on condition that he might feast his eyes on the perfect work. He set 600 men to work and allowed no intermission day or night,—in twenty-two months it was finished; the leaden covering to the roof was the only part that he did not live to see.

Thus it appears this Papal despot destroyed the finest remains of antiquity, while he effected many of the most useful improvements in modern Rome. The condition of the city in the reign of Alexander VII., in 1656, was still for the mass of the inhabitants miserable enough — narrow, unventilated lanes, with *mal-ordinate casaccie* for the people, in contrast with sumptuous palaces for the nobles. The whole of the present Piazza del Popolo was choked with wretched buildings; the useful was neglected—what was ostentatious preferred. Luckily the Queen of Sweden paid a visit to this Pope; it was essential that there should be a grand passage for her majesty, whereby to enter the capital of the Christian world, so the present spacious piazza was the result.

Pius VI. did something, Pius VII. more, towards the improvement and embellishment of the city.

There is a later epoch in the history of the city which requires particular attention, namely, the period of the occupation of Rome under the dynasty of Napoleon. This continued from the year 1809 to

1814—about four years, and it is important to understand correctly in what state the ancient monuments and other remarkable buildings of Rome then were, and what, if anything, was done for their conservation or restoration. Several English travellers, from Mr. Eustace down, have indulged in severe reflections or unmeasured abuse on the French nation and government in respect of their treatment of Italy, by them unjustly conquered and rapaciously plundered.

Let us briefly but impartially inquire what, if anything, was accomplished by the French for the benefit and improvement of the city of Rome, while held by the tenure of the sword.

We have, fortunately, the materials before us in the clear and accurate publication of the Count de Tournon, from whence much valuable information is to be derived. The tenth chapter, fifth book of the second volume treats of this matter. Napoleon's *préfet* thus gives his reasons for entering on the subject:—

“Aucune inscription n'indiquant au voyageur notre trace à Rome, et même quelquefois des marbres courtisans pouvant l'induire en erreur, il est utile de faire la part de chacun avant que le temps ait tout confondu et tout fait oublier, et pendant que les témoins existent et peuvent rendre justice à qui elle est due.”

“The occupation of Rome by the French (he writes), lasted from 1809 to 1814, an occupation which, apart from its flagrant injustice, and the perverse and angry policy which counselled it, was at least orderly in its proceedings, and frequently benevolent towards the country, very different in this respect from the ‘*irruption spoliatrice et révolutionnaire qui eut lieu en 1798.*’”

This is candid writing. The *préfet* adds, and I believe with perfect truth,

“If, during that first invasion, Rome paid a portion of the tribute imposed by the conqueror in the sacrifice of her statues and of her most precious pictures,—during the second occupation Rome witnessed not only the religious preservation of what had been left her, but also the watchful care of the government for the restoration of her ancient monuments—a foreign administration which afforded the rare spectacle of ruling the conquered in the same impartial spirit as the mother-country.”

This author adopts a natural division of the ancient monuments in Rome and the provinces, namely, those in ruin, those still preserved, and, as to the modern edifices, those applied to purposes sacred or profane. The monuments immediately around Rome which merited peculiar care were the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, the Circus of Caracalla, the Temples of the Muses, and others.

The French having examined the state of these monuments in the Campagna, and allotted certain funds towards disengaging the Temple *de la Sibylla Tiburtina*, concentrated all their energy upon the antique monuments within the city. These were, so to speak, heaped in the double valley which extends from the Capitoline to the Esquiline Mount,—in this narrow space, which was the centre of the Roman power, “*où furent en un mot le noble siège du patricial l’arène populaire, et le théâtre des fureurs impériales.*” * “There, in a space of 700 yards long and 600 broad, after 2000 years, and twenty sackings, are still standing the re-

* The following passages are translated from the Count de Tournon’s book.

mains of the Capitol, and those of the Temples of Jupiter Tonans, of Jupiter Stator, of Concord, of Antoninus and Faustina, of Romulus, of Peace, of Venus and Rome, of Vesta, and of Fortuna Virilis; the arches of Septimius Severus, of Titus, of Constantine, and of Janus; the column of Phocas, the palace of the Cæsars, the baths of Titus, the grand Circus, and the prodigious Coliseum. In fine, not far off we see yet the columns of the Temple of Mars, the Forum of Nerva, and the Basilica and column of Trajan.*

“This valley of ruins is raised at least twelve feet above its ancient level, so that one might read in the successive beds of rubbish a history of the misfortunes of Rome. The deplorable practice of burying and destroying the monuments had been increased by the negligence of the police, who suffered the earth from excavations, made for constructing the new city in the plains of the Tiber, to be deposited in this abandoned region. Thus the noble Roman Forum became a vast receptacle of filth, and the contempt for ancient things was carried so far, even by those who ought to watch attentively their preservation, that there was pushed back to the wall of the Capitol a mass of rubbish which enveloped the columns of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, *and on this artificial mount a senator of Rome built his stables.*

“Thus did the successor of Agrippa comprehend his duty towards the remains of Roman grandeur. These Vandal profanations are not even of ancient date, as proved by an engraving of the Capitol made in 1550.

* Canina is more accurate than the *préfet* in naming the Roman temples.

“After the example of the chief magistrate, the people raised on this factitious soil houses, granaries, and the beautiful columns served as supports for humble roofs; frequently this soil has been excavated, but, curiosity satisfied, the earth has been returned into the excavations.”

Reading this narrative of the French *préfet*, we cannot resist a sentiment of indignation, mayhap contempt, for the imbecile government which left for the stranger and usurper the performance of what ought to have been its proudest duty. The different character of the old Papal and modern French government, in matters of administration, appears in striking contrast as we peruse the statement of the *préfet*. The French conceived a plan comprehensive and rational,—to search for the ancient level, and bring out definitely into the light of day the bases of the monuments. Formerly Raffaello,* in a very curious letter addressed to Leo X., had proposed such a general and permanent clearance and excavation; and he undertook to realise his project. His proposal was never executed.

The difficulties in the way of the French were great, for it was necessary to purchase and pull down a great number of houses, to remove the rubbish and place it where it could not prejudice other researches, to repair monuments in danger of falling, and drain off the water from the soil. Beginning from the Capitol, a heap of filth formed a terrace which almost touched the *astragal* of the columns of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans (so called) to a height of thirty feet above the ancient foun-

* For a summary of this letter, *vide* Roscoe's "Life of Leo X." vol. ii. pp. 343—5.

dation. Houses occupied, close to this heap of soil, the area of the Temple of Concord, and other edifices and granaries were built between the column dedicated to Phocas and the arch of Septimius Severus. The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina was buried even above the base of the columns; opposite the columns of the Temple of Jupiter Stator* (so called) were hidden deeply in the ground; more distant, the prodigious arches of the Temple of Peace,† enclosed by walls, served as stables for cattle and coach-houses for waggons; and a mass of rubbish raised itself up to the spring of the arch.

Mean edifices obstructed the view of the arch of Septimius Severus. The opposite declivity towards the Colosseum, occupied by a vineyard, presented a broken prospect of ruins extending to the outer wall of this mighty fabric, the area of which was encumbered with deposits of 112 feet in height.

Its arches, between their openings and the chinks in the walls, announced approaching ruin (accelerated by an active vegetation) which the buttress boldly thrown up by Pius VII. retarded at one point only. Such was the deplorable condition of the Forum and surrounding district.

In other regions were demanded the restoration of the Temples of Vesta and Fortuna Virilis, masked by buildings and concealed by rubbish; also the uncovering of the Arch of Janus, the beautiful proportions of which were entirely hidden from similar causes;

* See *ante* Region VIII. Canina.

† Called the Basilica of Constantine. *Vide* Canina.

and, above all, the disengagement of the column of Trajan, which, confined and almost hidden from view by a pile of modern uninteresting buildings, raised its head from the midst of a kind of well, and with difficulty could be even seen.

“Our energies (says the *préfet*) ought to have been next directed to the Portico of Octavia, unworthily used at present as a fish-market, the Forum of Nerva, the Theatre of Marcellus, and successively on all the other monuments of antiquity susceptible of being isolated from the modern buildings, and disengaged from the accumulation of earth under which their bases had disappeared.”

The *préfet* justly observes :—

“The execution of such an enterprise would have required considerable time, but, from what has been done in four years, one may calculate the duration of the entire works projected.”

The French administration applied one million francs a-year to this great enterprise, — one half advanced from the treasury, the other by the city ; how this was actually applied the *préfet* next proceeds to shew.

OF THE WORKS OF RESTORATION EXECUTED BY THE FRENCH IN THE FORUM AND COLOSSEUM.

From what has been above written, the reader will perceive that up to the time of the French occupation, the glorious remains of Ancient Rome were shamefully neglected, scarcely visible, being buried in the earth or blocked up and defiled. Following the account given by the *préfet* and using his words we find—

“The French began in 1810 their works in the Forum and Colosseum, by the demolition of houses and granaries, previously purchased from their proprietors, and which had been erected in various sites in this classical district. The soil raised was removed to distant places, the excavations

were regularly made by trenches opened down to the ancient level,—the work was completely done, so as to prevent all necessity of future operations. These labours were pursued during the years 1811, 1812, and 1813—and behold the results. The three angular pillars of the Temple* of Jupiter Tonans, crowned with a beautiful fragment of entablature—*‘chef-d’œuvre de sculpture d’ornement du siècle d’Auguste,’* not only were buried up to the capitals, but they leaned over nearly a semi-diameter, and were sustained merely by the pressure of the earth which encompassed them. In order to replace these columns in a perpendicular position, it was necessary to remove the enormous blocks of marble of this entablature, and lay them down on a scaffolding constructed on a platform; a circular excavation was then made around the pillars to the level of the ancient soil, that is, to a depth of about forty-five feet; then it was discovered that these masses rested on the remains of a pedestal so consumed by time that we were forced to prop it underneath at the bottom of a kind of narrow well. This work presented great difficulties, which were very skilfully surmounted. When accomplished—*‘les colonnes du temple s’elancèrent isolées dans leur noble élégance, et on s’étonna de voir briller dans les airs l’admirable frise sculptée que naguère souillait le pied des curieux.’*†

“Next the Temple of Jupiter, the edifice consecrated to Concord ‡ was cleared of the vulgar erections resting against the columns, and its beautiful portico entirely isolated.

“These clearances changed wholly the aspect of the Capitoline Mount, so crowded with precious remains, but so dishonoured by a shameful neglect; it will suffice to cast a

* Now recognized as the Temple of Vespasian, *ante* Region VIII.

† The plans 18, 19, 20, 21, given in vol. iii. of Count de Tournon’s book, shew how this work of restoration was designed and executed.

‡ According to Canina only the base of the Temple of Concord is visible; the portico mentioned by the French *préfet* must be referred to the Temple of Saturn.

glance on the views given by Piranesi, Nolli, and other engravers, and to compare them with the actual appearances, in order to comprehend the extent and importance of the works accomplished on this spot alone.

“ At the entrance of the Forum, the now isolated column which was buried between old houses, being disengaged by their demolition, was recognized by the inscription, for an antique monument which had been dedicated to Phocas.”

The further improvements by the French are thus described :—

“ Ascending the Forum, we cleared away to the bases of the columns of the Temple of Jupiter Stator.* The removal of the accumulations in the Portico of Antoninus and Faustina uncovered the bases of the columns of Cipoline marble, at the foot of which was found in perfect preservation the pavement of the Via Sacra, where seemed imprinted yet the steps of the conquerors marching to the Capitol, and those of the vanquished dragged to the Mamertine prisons, ‘ *de cette voie sacrée qu’ Horace se plaisait à parcourir chaque jour.*’

‘ Ibam forte Via Sacra sicut meus est mos.’

“ Important works were executed at the same time in the Temple of Peace (now known as the Basilica of Constantine). The modern erections having disappeared, the masses of filth being removed, underneath was found, at a depth of many feet, a pavement elegantly disposed in precious marbles. Then the three colossal vaults recovered their beautiful proportions, and the plan of this immense fabric might be comprehended.

“ After other demolitions of ugly obstructions, the soil was levelled so as to lay bare the base of the Temple of Venus and Rome, the Work of Hadrian, and there was found here a prodigious quantity of precious remains of the golden house of Nero.

* According to Canina, *ante* Region VIII. these graceful columns belonged to the *Curia Julia*.

“ Afterwards, by the demolition of surrounding granaries, the Arch of Titus was isolated, and one might judge of its incomparable beauty.

“ The Colosseum, which terminated this valley of monuments, naturally attracted all our attention; for this prodigious pile had so well withstood the waste of time, that we might assert, if untouched by the hand of man, the whole work of Vespasian and Titus would still be standing. Accumulations were removed, supports raised, porticoes cleansed, broken walls were repaired, gaping vaults cemented, flags of the pavements uncovered. ‘ *On put juger de tout le péril qu’il courait par suite de profondes et anciennes dégradations. Si, depuis la cessation de l’administration Française, des travaux de consolidation furent exécutés, elle n’est pas responsable du mauvais goût qui, dit on, a présidé à cette restauration.*’

Excavations on a great scale having been effected, “ *Grace à ces travaux, une longue durée est assurée au Colisée, et ce monument, qui fut sous le règne de Titus un cirque ensanglanté, sous Dioclétien la théâtre du martyre des Chrétiens, au moyen âge le château-fort des Frangipanis, et de nos jours un calvaire révééré, pourra long-temps encore justifier la belle expression de Delille :*’

“ Sa masse indestructible a fatigué le temps.”

“ The works executed in the baths of Titus were not less important; former excavations had been made in this celebrated place, but without order, and the soil extracted from one portion seemed to fill up that space which had already satisfied curiosity. This imperfect examination had sufficed to bestow on the arts the sublime group of Laocoon, and to inspire the artists of a mighty age—even Raffaele. Our labours were not attended with results so brilliant, but they will be at least permanent, since this admirable subterranean museum, whose walls and vaults are adorned with stuccoes perfectly preserved and covered with arabesques and paintings, is, at last, restored to light.”

These are the works executed in four years on the soil of the Forum and in the valley of the Colosseum, "and I need not," writes the *préfet*, "insist on their importance to the interests of *archæology* and the arts."

The French administration further projected to search for the ancient soil *throughout the whole Forum*, and to uncover it throughout, sustaining by walls the earth on which the modern buildings are seated, and already had made a beginning by the construction of a trench to carry off the rain water from the excavations. The earth removed would have served for the construction of the quays; and, lastly, the Palatine Mount (where lived Evander and Pallas), the cradle of Rome, still covered by the ruins of the palace of the Cæsars, would have formed a vast pleasure-garden between Ancient and Modern Rome. The plan of this magnificent project is indicated in the *préfet's* map. This would, indeed, have been worthy the administration which designed it, but will never be attempted under the papacy.

The arch of Janus Quadrifons, near the Forum Romanum, was disengaged from the surrounding soil to the depth of nine feet, and granaries which blocked it up were demolished. In other quarters of the city, the dwellings which enveloped the Temple of Vesta were demolished, and the excavations made around this monument having uncovered its circular dimensions.

"Et l'ayant isolé et rendu à ses belles proportions, ce charmant edifice parut dans toute sa gracieuse élégance."

Whilst the temple of Fortuna Virilis (built by Servius Tullius), equally cleared from the mass of soil

which buried its pedestal, displayed a vigorous beauty. The construction of a quay before this edifice was only required to bring it entirely into view.*

The labours of the French were next directed to the column of Trajan. This memorial of Rome's most virtuous emperor was, notwithstanding what is supposed to have been done by Pope Sixtus, choked up to its very base with houses, churches, and convents.

“Doubtless (writes the *préfet*) the most natural idea was to have made the column the centre of a grand place,—but then the churches of Notre Dame di Loretto and of Santa Maria must have been demolished. These obstructions could not well be removed, so a plan less regular and grand was adopted, consisting in the tracing of a space in an elliptical form, and the execution of which would only require the sacrifice of two uninteresting convents.”

This plan once adopted was rapidly executed, and when the ground was cleared of the modern erections, the ancient level was met, on which had been laid the foundation of the Ulpian Basilica, marked out by the remains of walls, bases of columns, and in the intervening spaces covered with a pavement of marble indicating the situation of the halls and galleries. The admirable excavation laboriously effected was surrounded by a wall built up to the present level of the adjacent soil, the numerous ruins were preserved and judiciously disposed, and a communication with the streets constructed.†

* *Vide* Canina for the correct description of these two beautiful temples.

† *Vide* Canina's description of the Ulpian Basilica and Trajan's Column, and Nos. 28, 29, in the third volume of the *Préfet's* Book, for the sections and plans of the work done by the French, and a view of the results.

"Grace à ses travaux, on peut maintenant jouir pleinement du monument élevé au vainqueur des Daces, et cette partie de la ville a été embellie d'une place vaste."

The Pantheon was not neglected. Napoleon's *préfet* must have had a genuine taste for pure architecture, for he tells us preparations were made for stripping off the hideous belfries by which the monks disfigured the beautiful façade, and everything was ready to open a regular space before the portico, which would have exhibited in full perfection the glorious dome of the Pantheon. The other ancient temples changed into churches were also carefully repaired and preserved.

Upon the whole, a noble task was performed. In reviewing the things accomplished by the French in reference to the ancient monuments of Rome, the traveller and archæologist must confess and admire the judgment, ability, science, and taste by which the works of renovation, and restoration, were designed and executed. Remarking that the books published on Rome have not done justice to the French, nor touched, save incidentally, on their great and successful labours, I have deemed it essential, in sketching the vicissitudes of the city, to explain in what a deplorable condition the venerable remains of classic ages were suffered to exist, by the negligent government of the Popes, and how they were redeemed, and restored, to the delighted gaze of the scholar, and the traveller, by the vigorous industry of the French.

CONCLUSION.

It has been frequently asserted that a change of Government in Rome would be injurious to the city itself, and especially to those monuments of classic ages, the possession of which lend to Rome an attraction beyond that afforded by any other capital in the world. This is an error, and it is removed completely by a perusal of the work written by the Prefect of the Emperor Napoleon, to which copious reference has been already made.

A Government such as the Papal can scarcely afford time or means to accomplish the restoration or excavation of ancient monuments. A Leo X. might have wished to execute what the genius of Raffaele proposed: such a Pontiff has, however, but seldom appeared in Papal history.

Any civilized Government succeeding to the ecclesiastical will assuredly not neglect the memorials of a great antiquity. In all probability a new and energetic administration would labour not only to preserve and purify what now appears, but also to bring to light what lies still buried and neglected. The mode of proceeding, in reference to the valuable remains of Ancient Rome, would appear to be simple,—that is, the appointment of a select number of qualified individuals to form a board or committee, to whose exclusive care

should be confided the antiquities of Rome, with instructions to work out the plans of the French administration (detailed by the Count de Tournon), not only for the preservation of what exists, but in execution of further clearances and restorations. In the third volume of the French Prefect's work are drawings of all the plans, as well those actually effected as those designed for future execution; and the reader must acknowledge, these great projects were suggested in a scientific manner, and in a truly admirable spirit.

We may also expect, that such a Government will regard with equal care the celebrated ecclesiastical temples of Rome, in the preservation of which the Christian world is interested; while money will not be wasted in puerile decorations of ugly and unnecessary churches, thrust into obscure corners of the city, where congregations cannot be expected or procured.

Let us further hope that, when the fever of revolution shall have subsided, whatever form of Government be adopted, we may discover the fruits not of change merely, but of reform, in the tranquillity and virtue of the people, in the restoration of the venerable monuments of antiquity, and in the renewed splendour of the eternal city.*

* It is a good omen of the temporary Government now in possession of power in Rome, to find that already a commission has been appointed to superintend the renovation and repair of churches; and also, that of such commission *Il Cavaliere Canina* has been nominated a member.

POSTSCRIPT
ON RECENT EVENTS
IN ROME.

AMPLE justice has been done, in the foregoing pages, to the exertions of the French in restoring the remains of Ancient Rome and improving the modern city during its occupation by Napoleon, and under the administration of the able and excellent Count de Tournon.

It has been reserved for the nephew of the great Emperor, affecting a love for Republican freedom, to endeavour to destroy that City, which a splendid tyrant wished to preserve and to improve. In possession of the *Villa Pamfili Doria* on the Janiculum, Marshal Oudinot may bombard the Basilica of St. Peter on its flank, and thus complete his military fame. The grounds belonging to the Villa already mentioned, are from three to four miles in extent, and lie nearly opposite to the modern gate of *San Pancrazio*. This gate is on the heights of the Janiculum, and, as *Canina*

informs us, stands on the site of the ancient *Porta Aurelia*. The reader, by referring to the map, will see the position of the Aurelian gate. The Janiculum was, in early times, a fortress, the portion of it which looks towards the Aventine was, by the ancient Romans, inclosed within the walls, in order to guard the navigation of the Tiber. At the base of the Janiculum lies the modern district of *Trastevere*, known as the fourteenth Region of Old Rome, and already described as *Transtiberinus*. It will be seen, in reference to the antecedent pages, there were not many monuments of ancient grandeur in this Region. Should the French penetrate through the *Porta San Pancrazio*, they would probably, in the first instance, attempt to seize the church of *San Pietro in Montorio*, a noble edifice in the rock of the Janiculum. The possession of this celebrated Church, would give the French a commanding position within the walls; from the platform in front of it, all modern Rome can be seen. Should the French endeavour to thread their way through the narrow streets between that church and the Tiber to the *Ponte Sisto* (anciently the *Pons Janiculensis*), they may be resisted at every step. The bridge may be destroyed; they will be obliged to cross the Tiber as best they can, in order to fight their way into the heart of the Modern City. The bridge of St. Angelo, formerly *Pons Ælius*, is commanded by the Castle of *St. Angelo*; and the *Ponte di Quattro Capi*, (known as the *Pons Cestius* and *Pons Fabricius* of Old Rome), connecting the City with the Island of the Tiber,

might be long defended, even although the defenders were not led by an *Horatius Cocles*. It does not appear that the remains of ancient Rome have, as yet, been damaged.

This is not the place wherein to discuss the policy of the French invasion of the Papal States; the civilized world will stigmatize the bombardment of Rome as an act of unprovoked barbarity. The French strive to excel in ferocity the Vandal and the Goth: beyond dispute, their army, their General, and their President, will earn by the perpetration of this crime immortal infamy. There can be no unconcerned spectator of so flagitious an offence against the law of nations, unless that law be sufficient to repress acts of cruelty and wickedness, such as Frenchmen, by the authority of their Government, now commit in Italy. The boasted civilization of our age is at an end, and brute force, unrestrained by human or divine authority, must henceforth rule the world. That an unoffending people, who, possessed of political power wielded it with moderation, with a becoming respect for personal liberty, for property, and even for religion, should be killed by French revolutionists, because they desired to escape from the enormous evils inflicted on them by an absurd political system, might be expected to have raised an universal shout of indignation. But we have suffered this shameful transaction to proceed with remarkable composure, although murder, on a small scale, is revolting to our feelings. I cannot help believing that much of the indifference with which

this outrage against the law of nations has been regarded in England, arises from the misconception still entertained by many persons, as to the state of feeling prevalent in the States of the Church on the subject of the Papal Government. It is matter of surprise and regret, that Lord Palmerston should have thus expressed himself in his despatch to the Marquis of Normanby recently published:—
“It seems to Her Majesty’s Government, that a strong and unanimous manifestation of the opinion of those powers in support of order on the one hand, and of constitutional rights on the other, would bring to reason *the minority*, who now exercise paramount authority at Rome; and would give courage and confidence to the majority, who have been hitherto *intimidated* and *overborne*; and if Great Britain had been invited to be a party to those negotiations, and if an invitation to that effect had been accepted, such would have been the course which Her Majesty’s Government would have recommended that the parties to the transaction should pursue.”

Lord Palmerston has been manifestly misled by the enemies of liberty at Rome, or at Gaëta, into the erroneous notion, that a small minority, a contemptible faction, have seized on the Government in Rome, against the will of the people, and he has, in consequence, damaged the cause he should have defended. The truth is, the exact converse of what the British Secretary has most unfortunately supposed it to be; not only the majority, but the

whole mass of the population in Rome, and through the Papal States, have long been rootedly averse to the Civil Government of the Priest. The people hold it in abhorrence; no party has appeared in favour of the political government of the Pope; no man has deserted to the French; all have exhibited an heroic courage in defending their country against the Austrian and French invaders.

Long has it been the unjustifiable practice to visit on a gallant people the vices of a despotism, under which, for ages, they have groaned. The modern Romans were branded as cowards by nature; and now when they have proved their high courage by as noble a resistance as is recorded on the page of history—when they have given proofs unmistakable of their fitness for liberty, they are left uncheered by a friendly voice, unaided by a friendly hand to be sacrificed to the insatiable desire of Frenchmen for shedding the blood of their fellow-creatures. English diplomacy is not shown in a favourable light by the public despatches of Lord Palmerston; we search these documents in vain for a bold and resolute protest against the wicked project of the French; and yet it was in the power of the British Secretary to have convicted the President and his Government of glaring inconsistency in the paper constitution of the French democrats denouncing all intervention against the liberty of other nations, while their practice flagrantly contradicts their theory. Perhaps it is even more to be regretted that

no expression of opinion took place in the British Senate, which might have checked the French invaders in their mad career of devastation and massacre. The bombardment of Rome is a disgrace to the age in which we live; and it is to be lamented that the British Minister has attempted nothing to avert it. The French Government seems to be insensible to the infamy of reducing to ruins the most famous city of the World.

If, however, Marshal Oudinot be successful, and the Pope and Cardinals shall be forced back by the bayonet on an incensed people, we may expect to witness a melancholy scene, although not unusual in Italian history, of outrages on the part of the oppressed against their oppressors, and of crimes on the part of the oppressors against the oppressed. After the blood which has been shed, there can be no middle course; the moral influence of the Pope and the Sacred College is at an end; and there must be either the despotism or the defeat of the Priest.

DUBLIN,

JUNE, 1849.

INDEX.

- AMPHITHEATRE Castrense, 106.
 ——— of Flavius, called
 the Colosseum, 52.
 ——— Statilius Taurus,
 222.
 Aqueduct, the Anio Vetus and the
 Appian water, 104.
 ——— Claudian, and that
 called the New
 Anio, 94.
 ——— Marcian, Tepulan,
 and Julian, 101.
 ——— acqua Virgo, Histo-
 rical description of Roman aque-
 ducts, in Notes, 210.
 Arch of Constantine, 250.
 ——— Claudius, new, 136.
 ——— Dolabella and Silanus, 41.
 ——— Drusus, 36.
 ——— Fabius, 151.
 ——— Gallienus, 90.
 ——— Gordianus, 135.
 ——— Gratian, Valentinian, and
 Theodoric, 223.
 ——— Lentulus, 258.
 ——— L. Verus and of Marcus,
 136.
 ——— Quadrifons, 178.
 ——— Septimius Severus (in the
 Roman Forum), 163.
 ——— ——— (in the
 Forum Boarium), 178.
 ——— Tiberius, 162.
 ——— Titus, 69.
 ——— near theatre of Pompey, 201.
 Arches of Nero, 41.
 Area Palatina, 248.
 ——— Radicaria, 269.
 ——— Septimiana, 294.
 Auguratorium and mansion of the
 Salii, Priests of Mars, in Notis,
 236, 237.
- Baths of Agrippa, 206.
 ——— Agrippina, 87.
 ——— Caracalla, 265. Vide in
 Notis, 270.
 ——— Constantine, 112.
 ——— Decian, 276.
 ——— Diocletian, 118.
 ——— Helena, 105.
 ——— Nero, 209.
 ——— Novatus, and house of Pu-
 dens, 87.
 ——— Olympia, 86.
 ——— Paulus, 116.
 ——— Philip, 61.
 ——— Public, 51.
 ——— of Sura, 275.
 ——— Titus, 54.
 ——— Trajan, 57.
 Basilica of Constantine, 70.
 ——— Julia, 153.
 ——— Liciniana, 91.
 ——— Matidia, 211.
 ——— Marciana, 212.
 ——— Paulus, 164.
 ——— Silversmith, Argentaria,
 177.
 ——— Ulpian, 169.
 Bridge of Cestius, 292.
 ——— Fabricius, 293.
 Buildings of Trajan's Forum, 173.
 Camp, Prætorian, or Castrum Præ-
 torium, 84.
 Campus Fontinalis, 48.
 ——— Martius, 47, 202. Vide
 in Notis, 204.
 ——— Minor, 223.
 ——— Viminalis, 86.
 Capitol, 180.
 ——— ancient, 112.
 Celian, little, and chapel of Diana,
 50.
 Chapel of Modesty, 179.

- Charity, Roman. Vide in Notis, 262.
- Circus of Hadrian, in the Domitian gardens, 297.
- Agonalis, 209.
- Flaminian, 192.
- of Flora, 108.
- Massimo or Maximus, 252.
- of Nero, 295.
- Sallust, 120.
- Varianus, 106.
- Clivus Victoriæ, 237.
- Cloaca Maxima, 180.
- Clock Solar, 224.
- Cohort, fifth of the Watch, 44.
- Column of Antoninus, 221.
- Marcus Aurelius, 219.
- Phocas, 165.
- Trajan, 172.
- Comitium, 149.
- Curia Julia, in the Roman Forum, 147.
- Calabra on the Capitol, 186.
- of Pompey, 201.
- Diribitorium, 141.
- Division of the City into 14 Regions, 23.
- Doliolus, or Monte Testaccio, Arvales Fratres. Vide in Notis, 284.
- Enclosures, early, of Rome, 10.
- Equimelum, 180.
- Equiriæ, 220.
- Field of Agrippa, 140.
- Forum Archemorium, 127.
- of Augustus, 168.
- Boarium (or market for sale of swine), 177.
- of Cæsar, 166.
- Olitorium (or herb market), 260.
- Romanum, 143. (Roman Forum, described in Notis, 143, 144).
- of Sallust, 122.
- Suarium, 133.
- of Trajan, 169.
- Passage, or Forum Transitorium, 73.
- Fountain and temple of Mercury, 27.
- the Camenæ, 29.
- Fragments of the ancient plan of Rome, sculptured in marble, 8.
- Gardens of Adonis, 248.
- Argiani, 126.
- of Domitian, 227.
- Lucullus, 228. Vide in Notis, 230.
- Sallust, 122.
- Gate of Capena, 26.
- Gates of the primitive enclosures, 10.
- enclosures of Servius, 14.
- Aurelian, 18.
- Gibbon quoted, 54, 107, 130, 249.
- Granaries of the Lolliani, Galbiani, and Candellari, 283.
- Minutius, 196.
- Grecostrasis, 150.
- Gymnasium, Great, or Ludus Magnus
- Hill of Victory, or Clivus Victoriæ, 237.
- Horace quoted, 80, 116, 237, 239, 271, 280, 305.
- House of Augustus, 240.
- Chilo, 268.
- Cornificius, 269.
- Laterani, 48.
- Marcus Aurelius, 48.
- Niccolo di Lorenzo, 260.
- Philip, 51.
- Pompey, 78.
- Tiberius, 242.
- Vitellius, 47.
- Houses, seven, of the Parthians, 266.
- various, in the region beyond the Tiber, 295.
- Idea, general, of the City, 10-22.
- Ingress, principal, of the Palace of the Cæsars, 238.
- Island of the Tiber, Isola Tiberina, 291.
- Juvenal quoted, 25, 30, 48, 80, 215, 271.
- Lake of Agrippa, 208.
- Library, Greek and Latin, 238.
- Ulpian, 171.
- Livy quoted, 14, 29, 31, 84, 148, 150, 156, 164, 179, 261, 271-7, 292, 307-8.
- Lucan quoted, 122, 215.

- Market, High, or Forum of Cupid, 70.
 ——— great, 46.
 ——— of Livy, 90.
 Mausoleum of Hadrian, 297.
 ——— Augustus, 225.
 Meta Sudante or Sudans, 67.
 Minerva Medica, 93.
 Mithras, History of the Worship of, in Notes, 128.
 Mutatorium of Cæsar, 31.
 Martial quoted, 37, 50-3, 75, 80, 111, 119, 138, 200, 218, 223, 239, 273.
 Naumachia of Augustus, 290.
 Nemesis, 236.
 Nymphæum of Claudius, or artificial fountain, 60.
 ——— Jove, or public baths, 138.
 Ovid quoted, 27, 31, 37, 47, 48, 63, 84, 89, 111, 153, 177-9, 183, 195-7, 211, 235-7, 242, 257, 293-4.
 Palace, part added by Caligula, 243.
 ——— Nero, 247.
 ——— of Servius, 88.
 Pantheon of Agrippa, 205.
 Pollio, 279.
 Pomerium, 10.
 Portico, arched, 71.
 ——— of Hundred Columns, 201.
 ——— Constantine, 131.
 ——— Corinthian, of Octavius, 202.
 ——— of the Twelve consenting Gods, 182.
 ——— Emilian, 281.
 ——— of Europa, 222.
 ——— Fabarian, 281.
 ——— of Livia, 62.
 ——— Meleager, 218.
 ——— Milliarense, 121.
 ——— of Neptune, 217.
 ——— Philip, 197.
 ——— Octavia, 193.
 ——— Pola, 214.
 Prisons, Mamertine, 163.
 Pliny quoted, 262.
 Propertius quoted, 200, 242.
 Quarters of the Albanians, 43.
 ——— Genziani, 133.
 Quarters of the Misenati, 62.
 ——— Peregrini, *i. e.* foreign soldiers, 42.
 RECAPITULATION:—
 Region I.—Porta Capena, 25.
 ——— II.—Celimontana, 38.
 ——— III.—Isis and Serapis, 52.
 ——— IV.—Temple of Peace, or the Sacred Way, 65.
 ——— V.—The Esquiline, 82.
 ——— VI.—Alta Semita, 108.
 ——— VII.—Via Lata, 125.
 ——— VIII.—Roman Forum, 142.
 ——— IX.—Flaminian Circus, 191.
 ——— X.—Palatium, 234.
 ——— XI.—Circus Maximus, 252.
 ——— XII.—Piscina Publica, 265.
 ——— XIII.—The Aventine, 271.
 ——— XIV.—Transtiberina, 301.
 Reservoirs of Water and Nymphæum of Diocletian, 123.
 ——— called the Sette Sale, 56.
 ——— the Julian Fountain, 91.
 ——— different Waters, 104.
 River Almo, 37.
 ——— Tiber, 19, 20, 287, 289.
 Rock, Tarpeian, or Citadel, 185.
 ——— Janiculum, 288.
 Rostra Julii, 149.
 ——— most ancient, 161.
 Salt Stores, 257.
 School of Zanta, 182.
 Secretary's Office (of the Senate), 165.
 Septa. Vide in Notis, 212.
 Septizonium Esquiline, 59.
 ——— of Septimius Severus, 249. Vide in Notis, 249, 267.
 Sessorium, 105.
 Sepulchre of Agrippa, 227.
 ——— the Arunzi, 93.
 ——— Caius Cestus, 285.
 ——— the Claudian Family 135.

Sepulchre, common, 35.
 — of the Domitii, 227.
 — near the Porta Latina, 34.
 — of C. Publicius Bibulus, 133.
 — along the Prenestine Way, 92.
 — of Scipio Africanus, 298.
 — the Scipios, 32.
 — M. Virgilio Eurisace, 97.
 Sepulchres of the families Furian and Manilian, 34.
 Sommo Coragio, 64.
 Stadii of Domitian, 137.
 Statue, colossal, of Nero, 67.
 Street Sandalarius, 81.
 Suburra. Vide in Notis, 80.
 Tabularium, 184.
 Temple of Apollo, Palatine, 241 ; and Clathra, 115.
 — Ancient, 195.
 — Antoninus and Faustina, 72.
 — Antoninus, 219.
 — Augustus and the household Gods, 246.
 — Bellona, 195.
 — the Camenæ and Fountain, 29.
 — Carmenta, 179.
 — Castor and Pollux, 151.
 — Ceres and Proserpine, 256.
 — Ceres and of Hercules Pompeianus, 256.
 — Cæsar, 152.
 — Claudius, 38.
 — Concord, 159.
 — Diana Communis. Vide in Notis, 272.
 — Esculapius, 293.
 — Faunus, 294.
 — Flora, 110.
 — Fortune, in the Forum Boarium, 179.
 — Fortuna Fortis, 291.
 — Public Fortune, 111.
 — Fortuna Virilis, 259.
 — Hercules, 179.
 — Hercules of the Muses, 195.
 — Hercules Custos, 196.

Temple of Isis, 140.
 — Atenodoria, 267.
 — near the Septi, 215.
 — Janus, 165.
 — Juno Lucina, 89.
 — Moneta, 187.
 — Regina, 277.
 — Juturna, 211.
 — Jupiter Capitolinus, 187.
 — Conservatore, 189.
 — in the island, 294.
 — Tonans, 183.
 — Stator, 235.
 — Vimineus, 83.
 — Vincitore, or Conquering Jove, 242.
 — and Atrium of Liberty, 278.
 — of Mars in the Campus Martius, 204.
 — beyond the walls, 31.
 — Matuta, 179.
 — Mercury and Fountain, 257.
 — near the Circo Massimo, 257.
 — Minerva, 216.
 — Calcidica, 216.
 — Medica, 93.
 — on the Aventine, 274.
 — the Moon, 277.
 — Neptune, 197, 217.
 — Peace, 75.
 — Pallas, 248.
 — Portumnus, 257.
 — Quirinus, 110.
 — Ramnusia, 236.
 — Remus, 72.
 — Health, 112.
 — Saturn, 155.
 — Serapis, 115.
 — near the Flaminian Circus, 215.
 — Sylvanus, 88.
 — Speranza Vecchia : Ancient Hope, 99.
 — Sun. Vide in Notis, 127.
 Temple of Tellus, or the Earth, 77.

Temple of the Tempest, 33.
 ——— Trajan, 172.
 ——— Vejovis, 185.
 ——— Venus Erycina, 83.
 ——— and Rome, 68.
 ——— Sallustian, 121.
 ——— Vesta near the Forum,
 153.
 ——— Vesta, so called Temple
 of Dis, 258.
 ——— Palatina, 242.
 ——— Vespasian, 159.
 Temples of Cybele, Bacchus, and
 Juno Sospita, 240.
 ——— Fortuna Libera, Stabi-
 lis and Redux, 119.
 ——— Honour and Virtue, 28.
 ——— Piety, of Juno Matuta
 and of Hope, 261.
 Vide in Notis, 262.
 ——— the Sun and of the
 Moon, 78.

Tacitus quoted, 10, 23, 49, 50, 53,
 158, 162, 189, 208, 228-9, 263,
 279, 291.
 Theatre of Balbus, 198.
 ——— Marcellus, 193.
 ——— Pompey, 199.
 Via Lata—Broad Way, 135.
 — Sacra—Sacred Way, 66.
 — Trionfalis, 300.
 Villa Publica, 214.
 Virgil quoted, 279, 280.
 Walls, primitive, 10.
 — of Servius Tullius, 12.
 — Aurelian, 18.

Street Architecture of Ancient
 Rome, and Domestic Comforts
 of the Citizens, 301-308.
 Sketch of the Vicissitudes of the
 City, 309-336.

THE END.



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The vicissitudes of the eternal City: or Ancient Rome: with notes
classical and historical

London 1849

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